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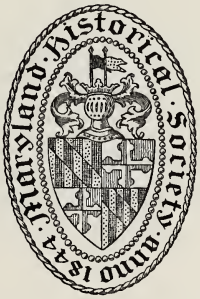

VOLUME XLIX

BALTIMORE

1954

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XLIX

PAGE

REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE, 1779-1782. *Edited by Helen Lee Peabody*, . 1, 122, 223, 314

SPOILS, SOILS, AND SKINNER. *Harold A. Bierck, Jr.*, ... 21, 143

WEBLEY, OR MARY'S DELIGHT, BAY HUNDRED, TALBOT COUNTY. *Sara Seth Clark and Raymond B. Clark, Jr.*, ... 41

THE NEW WORLD MEDITERRANEAN. *Neil H. Swanson*, ... 54

MARYLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1953, ... 64

BOOK REVIEWS, ... 70, 156, 238, 332

NOTES AND QUERIES, ... 84, 164, 251, 346

HAYES, A MONTGOMERY COUNTY HOUSE. *G. Thomas Dunlop, A. McCook Dunlop, and L. Morris Leisenring*, ... 89

BALTIMORE: NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD NAME. *Hamill Kenny*, ... 116

THE CHASE HOUSE IN ANNAPOLIS. *Rosamond Randall Beirne*, ... 117

A VIRGINIAN AND HIS BALTIMORE DIARY. *Douglas Gordon*, ... 196

THE TRIBULATIONS OF A MUSEUM DIRECTOR IN THE 1820's. *Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr.*, ... 214

THE UNVEILING OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER, ... 259

THOMAS KEMP, SHIPBUILDER, AND HIS HOME, WADES POINT. *M. Florence Bourne*, ... 271

LAFAYETTE'S VISIT IN FREDERICK, 1824. *Dorothy Mackay Quynn*, . . . 290

THE MONDAY CLUB. *William D. Hoyt, Jr.*, ... 301

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Webley, or Mary's Delight, Talbot County, The Garden Front,	Cover, March
Needwood, Home of Thomas Sim Lee. From Original Pencil Drawing, by Robert S. Peabody, In Possession of Author,	opp. 1
First Floor Plan of Webley,	43
Approach Front—Webley,	betw. 44-45
Detail of Entrance Front,	betw. 44-45
Hayes, Montgomery County, Built by Rev. Alexander Williamson, ca. 1767,	Cover, June
Floor Plans of Hayes as Constructed circa 1767,	94
First Floor Plan of Hayes, 1954,	95
The Garden Front of Hayes,	betw. 100-101
Contrasting Detail in Brick Work of Windows North and South Facades,	betw. 100-101
The Garden at Hayes,	betw. 100-101
The Stairway as Redesigned,	betw. 100-101
Stairway as Originally Built,	betw. 100-101
Mantel in Original White Parlor, Now Dining Room,	betw. 100-101
The Central Archway on the Second Floor of the Stair Hall,	betw. 100-101
Mantel in Original Dining Room, Now Drawing Room,	betw. 100-101
Ignatius Digges (1707-1785),	betw. 132-133
Mary Digges Lee (1745-1805),	betw. 132-133
The Chase House, Annapolis,	Cover, Sept.
First Floor Plan of the Chase House,	183
The Upper Hall,	betw. 188-189
The Lower Hall,	betw. 188-189
The Palladian Window on the Stair Landing,	betw. 188-189
The Doorway in the Dining Room,	betw. 188-189
The Dining Room,	betw. 188-189
The Lloyd Family,	betw. 188-189
John Montgomery Gordon,	opp. 196
"Wades Point" Bay Hundred, Talbot County,	Cover, Dec.
"Wades Point" from the Air,	betw. 286-287
First Floor Plan. Original House in Black,	betw. 286-287

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

49
1954

Webley, or Mary's Delight, Talbot County
The Garden Front

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

March - 1954

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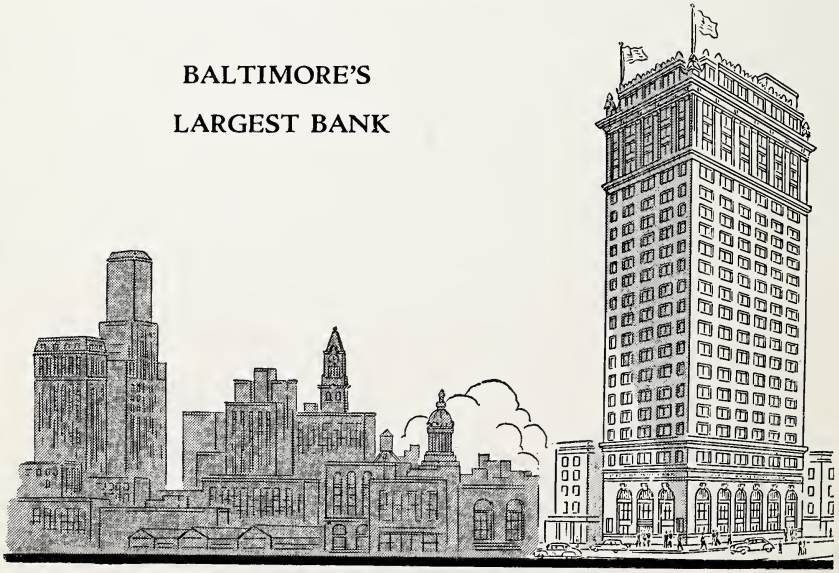

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XLIX, No. 1 MARCH, 1954

CONTENTS

PAGE

Revolutionary Mail Bag: Governor Thomas Sim Lee's Correspondence, 1779-1782 Edited by *Helen Lee Peabody* 1

Spoils, Soils, and Skinner . . . *Harold A. Bierck, Jr.* 21

Webley, or Mary's Delight, Bay Hundred, Talbot County *Sara Seth Clark* and *Raymond B. Clark, Jr.* 41

The New World Mediterranean . . *Neil H. Swanson* 54

Maryland Bibliography: 1953 64

Reviews of Recent Books 70

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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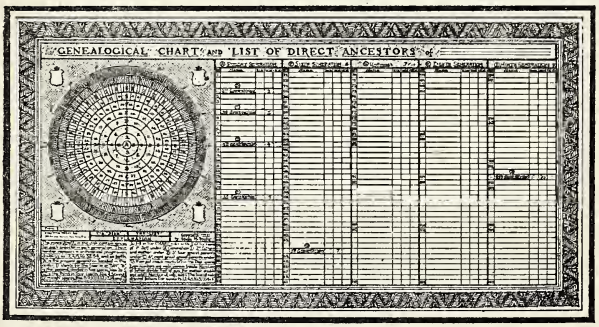

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLIX MARCH, 1954 Number 1

REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE, 1779—1782

Edited by HELEN LEE PEABODY

THE contents of a chest of several hundred unpublished letters and papers, belonging to Thomas Sim Lee, Governor of Maryland during the American Revolution, form the basis of the following pages.[1] The chest, containing these letters and private papers, together with the rest of his personal possessions, was inherited by his youngest son, John Lee, the only unmarried child still living with his father at the time of his death.

John Lee, my grandfather, left his inheritance, the old family mansion, " Needwood," in Frederick County, and all it contained, to my father, Charles Carroll Lee. In this manner the chest of letters descended to the present generation.

[1] There is no life of Lee. Standard accounts are to be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 132, and H.E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 9-13.

The papers—designated hereafter as the T. S. Lee Collection—when found, comprised over a thousand items. The papers were arranged in packages, tied with tape, and tabulated, which facilitated the onerous task of sorting and reading. Many had to be laid aside, as totally unsuited to a compilation of this kind. These comprised invoices, bills of lading, acknowledgements by London firms of hogsheads of tobacco received, orders for furniture, clothing, household utensils—all, in short, that made up the interchange of life between our Colonial ancestors and British merchants. There is a package of sixty letters from James Molleson, merchant, alone, and perhaps several hundred other business papers. A substantial packet deals with the sale of a tract of land, "Paradise," of which several Lee cousins inherited their share, or moiety. These letters, especially those from Richard Lee, Jr., to his cousin, Thomas Sim Lee, are punctuated with allusions to lighter matters, love affairs, balls, and family gossip, sometimes of an amusing character. Other packets are from friends—forty from William Fitzhugh of Chatham, from Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Archbishop John Carroll, as well as from less conspicuous persons, such as Christopher Richmond and Uriah Forrest.

But the most interesting, of course, are directly concerned with winning the war and are of a public nature. A series of fifty-six are from James McHenry, at that time aide to Lafayette at the front, during the siege of Yorktown, and give the latest details of the fighting, straight by galloping horsemen to the door of Government House at Annapolis and into the hands of Governor Lee.

A certain number of letters from General Washington to Lee, seem to have been part of these personal papers as late as 1861. On May 9 of that year the Governor's son, John Lee, wrote to Jared Sparks of Harvard, asking advice as to publishing a series of some forty letters from Washington to his father, written chiefly during the Yorktown Campaign.[2] Sparks strongly advised the project, but nothing further seems to have come of it, and these particular letters have been scattered. A number of these scattered letters have now been traced to various public and private collections, and have been restored (by photostats) to their original context, as far as possible, in connection with Governor Lee's answers.

[2] This exchange of letters is in the T. S. Lee Collection.

Lee, second governor of the State of Maryland, was born on October 29, 1745, and died October 9, 1819. His life covered, therefore, the entire last half of the 18th century in Maryland, that century which has been called the "Golden Age" of the colonies.

His grandfather, Philip Lee, had established himself, in the year 1700, on the Potomac River in Prince George's County, Maryland. He had been given this tract of land by his father, Richard Lee of Westmoreland County, Virginia, and was the first of the numerous Lee clan to make his home, and that of his descendants, in Maryland. He became a member of the Council of Maryland, a Justice of the Peace, and in other ways proved a solid member of the community. Having been twice married, he left a family of seventeen sons and daughters, and of these, Thomas, the fourth son, was the father of the future governor.

Little is recorded of the early years of Thomas Sim Lee. His mother's maiden name was Christiana Sim. He had one sister, Sarah. His father died when he was four years old. Presumably he spent his boyhood at the paternal homestead of his grandfather, Blenheim.[3] His father was Clerk of the County, and young Lee, still a minor at the time of his father's death, was given the position. His uncle, Antony Sim, was appointed by Lord Baltimore to administer the office until he should come of age. It is said that Lord Baltimore, who had known his father, wished him to be sent to England to be educated at Eton and Oxford.[4] This plan, if conceived, was never carried out.

Young Lee must have been of imposing appearance. He was described as "six foot four in height, every inch of him magnificent." He could never be induced, however, to sit for his portrait. In his early twenties he made a trip to England, meeting British relatives, of which every Colonial family possessed a score, and forming connections which, in some instances, were life-long. A number of letters now in the family testify to these connections.

On October 24, 1771, he married Mary, only daughter of the

[3] "Blenheim," Prince George's Co., referred to in family letters of the time, was burnt to the ground at some unknown date. It was in existence in 1771 for a letter from Richard Lee, Jr., to his cousin, T. S. Lee, is dated Blenheim, Nov. 2, 1771.

See Ethel Roby Hayden, "The Lees of Blenheim," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVIII (1924), 199-207, and Edumd J. Lee, *Lee of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1895), pp. 96, 148-153.

[4] Referred to in a letter from Mary Digges Lee Gouverneur to my father, Charles Carroll Lee, dated Needwood, May 15, 1889.

prominent Catholic landowner Ignatius Digges of Melwood Park, Prince George's County. He thus allied himself with a family as distinguished as his own, the Digges family tree going back to its English progenitor, Sir Dudley Digges of Chilham Castle in Kent, Ambassador to Russia in the reign of James the First.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, young Lee professed himself a sympathizer with the patriot cause and organized a band of local militia. We hear nothing further of his military ambitions, however. He served in August, 1776, as a delegate from Prince George's County to the Convention then meeting in Annapolis.

In 1777 he received an invitation from the governor of Maryland, Thomas Johnson, Jr., to make one of the governor's Council of five. He accepted and two years later was himself nominated and elected Governor of Maryland, serving from November 8, 1779, to November 22, 1782.

It is with these three crowded, harassing years of crisis in the Revolutionary cause, crowned by the victory of Yorktown, that the greater part of Governor Lee's correspondence quoted in the following pages deals.

(It will be noted that in certain instances probable complimentary closes are supplied in brackets. The discerning reader will also note that exact chronology has not always been used in the hope that the grouping of letters will aid in an understanding of the subjects discussed. It should be understood that Governor Lee acted in many matters in concert with his Council, thus the use of the expressions " we," " our," etc.)

Joseph Sim [5] to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection).

[Annapolis, Nov. 8, 1779]

Dear Sir,

The Business of Appointing the Governor is Just now finished, and I have the pleasure to inform you of your having a Majority of Votes,—there was only yourself and Col°. Lloyd proposed—for you 39, Col°. Lloyd 18.[6]—Mr. Chase [7] warmly recommended General Smallwood, but after a long debate which Continued ' till after night, it was determined by a Question & division of the House that General Smallwood was not

[5] Joseph Sim, Lee's uncle, was a member of the State Senate at this time.
[6] Edward Lloyd (1744-1796), of Talbot County.
[7] Samuel Chase (1741-1811), a member of the House of Delegates for Annapolis.

Eligible under a Resolve of Convention of the year 1776.[8] This determination seems to Mortify Chase & his party greatly as great pains was taken to carry their point.

A Joint Letter from the President and Speaker will be sent you tomorrow to inform you of your Appointment. I have kept my Man in Town to this time on purpose to give you the earliest information of your Appointment, well knowing it would give you satisfaction to be informed of it as soon as possible. Mr. Cannfeild joins me in Congratulating you on this event & I am

very truly, D. Sir your

Affectionate Ser^{vt}

Joseph Sim

8th Nov. Annapolis Monday Night 8 O Clock

P. S. I have ordered Tench to leave this place by Day Light & go immediately with this letter to you at Mr. Diggses.[9] J. S.

Mr. Josias Beall Chose[n] Speaker of the House of Delegates without opposition.

Jenifer and Beall to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Annapolis Nov. 9th 1779

Sir,

We are directed by the General Assembly to notify you of your appointment of Governor, and to request you will attend and qualify as soon as you conveniently can.

We have the honor to be, Sir, your

Obedient Servants

Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer P.[resident] S.[enate]

Josias Beall—Speaker H.[ouse] D.[elegates]

Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Sim Lee [10]
(Maryland Historical Society)

Williamsburg, Dec. 15, 1779

Sir

The inclosed letter which came by a flag of truce from New-York, will, I imagine, inform you that prisoners from your state are sent here for

---

[8] William Smallwood (1732-1792), who was judged ineligible while he held a commission as brigadier general. He continued in the military service until 1783 and served as governor, 1785-1788.

[9] Ignatius Digges, Lee's father-in-law.

[10] Printed in Julian P. Boyd (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, 1950-), III, 222-223, and *Maryland Historical Magazine*, V (1910), 256-257.

the purpose of exchange.[11] a copy of a letter from the master of the flag I also take the liberty of inclosing, as it will give you further information of their arrival here & escape from the flag.[12] the master is to await the return of the prisoners whom your Excellency may think proper to give in exchange for these.

After expressing my satisfaction at Your Excellency's appointment to an office, a second time so worthily filled, I take this my earliest opportunity of asking leave to trouble you from time to time with such communications as may be for the good of either state, of praying that you will be pleased to render me instrumental to their common service by honoring me with your commands, & of assuring you how earnestly I wish to see a perfect cordiality maintained between two sister states to whom common interests, manners, & dispositions have rendered a cordial intercourse so easy and necessary.

I am with the utmost respect & esteem Your Excellency's most obedient & most humble servt

Th: Jefferson

George Washington to Thomas Sim Lee [13]

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Head Quarters Morris town

Dec. 16th 1779

Sir:

The situation of the Army with respect to supplies is beyond description alarming. It has been five or six months past on half allowance, and we have not more than three days bread at a third allowance on hand, nor anywhere within reach.[14]

When this is exhausted, we must depend on the precarious gleanings of the neighboring country.

Our magazines are absolutely empty everywhere, and our commissaries entirely destitute of money or credit to replenish them.

We have never experienced a like extremity at any period of the war.

We have often felt temporary want from accidental delays in forwarding supplies, but we always had something in our magazines, and the means of procuring more. Neither one nor the other is at present the case.

This representation is the result of a minute examination of our resources.

Unless some extraordinary and immediate exertions are made by the

---

[11] Enclosure not located.

[12] Undoubtedly this letter is the one written by Andrew Stalker, on board the "Mary Ann Flag of Truce in Cherrytons" to the Commissary of Naval Prisoners, December 3, 1779. It was printed in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, V (1910), 256-257. This copy of this letter is now in the Maryland Historical Society.

[13] Printed in John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), XVII, 273-274.

[14] See Harold T. Pinkett, "Maryland as a Source of Food Supplies During the American Revolution," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (Sept., 1951), 157-172.

States from which we draw our supplies, there is every appearance that the army will infallibly disband in a fortnight.

I think it is my duty to lay this candid view of our situation before your Excellency, and to intreat the vigorous interposition of the States to rescue us from the danger of an event, which, if it did not prove the total ruin of our affairs, would at least give them a shock from which they would not easily recover, and plunge us into a train of new and still more perplexing embarrassments, than any we have hitherto felt.

I have the honor to be etc.

Geo. Washington

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON [15]

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Annapolis, December 26th 1779

Sir,

I had the honor to receive your Excellency's Letter of the 16th Ins. in the Evening of the 24th.

The important subject of it was instantly communicated to the General Assembly of this State which happily was then sitting and I have the pleasure to assure your Excellency, the Resolution of that Honorable Body is to make the most Vigorous Exertions in sending forward every supply the State is capable of furnishing. The Enclosure [16] is a Copy of the Law passed for the purpose, which I trust is a clear manifestation of their laudable intentions, and which, judging of the disposition of other States from our own, I flatter myself, affords a well grounded hope that the wants of the Army will be speedily satisfied.

I have the Honor to be with the most respectful Attachment

Your Excellency's Most Obedient
and
Most Humble Servant

Tho. Sim Lee

---

[15] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 41.

[16] Undoubtedly a copy of "An Act for the immediate supply of flour and other provisions for the army," Chapter XXXII, *Laws of Maryland*, November, 1779, session. See *Votes and Proceedings*, same session, for the Senate and the House of Delegates for evidence of passage of act in the two days preceding this letter.

Proclamation [17]

December 29, 1779

Whereas It is represented by the most unquestionable authority that the Army of the United States is greatly distressed for want of flour and forage, and that they will infallibly disband, unless the most speedy and extraordinary exertions are made by this State to procure these articles for their relief:

And whereas the General Assembly have enacted a law, entitled An Act for the immediate supply of flour and other provisions for the Army, which requires the utmost effort of every worthy citizen of this State to carry the same into full and speedy execution.

I do therefore most earnestly intreat, conjure, require and enjoin all Justices of the Peace, sheriffs and their deputies, constables, and all other good citizens of this State by that love of their country, that patriotic zeal and magnanimity which have hitherto distinguished their conduct in the present Glorious contest for life, liberty, and property; to exert themselves to the utmost at this critical emergency, in procuring and furnishing flour, and other provisions for the immediate relief of the army, in their present alarming distress, and rendering easy assistance to the Commissars, in carrying the said law into execution.

Thomas S. Lee

Governor

Anne Cesar, Chevalier de La Luzerne (1741-1791) the brilliant and interesting Diplomatic Minister, representing the Court of Louis XVI at Philadelphia, had succeeded Conrad Alexandre Gerard, in 1779.

He had been French Minister to Bavaria, and on leaving the United States was to be transferred to London, where he died.

Governor Lee kept up a friendly correspondence with him, thereby cementing our important alliance with France.

---

[17] The proclamation is printed in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), December 31, 1779, and in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), January 4, 1780. In each case the heading is

By His Excellency
THOMAS SIM LEE, Esquire,
Governor of Maryland,
A Proclamation.

[The concluding lines are:]

THO. SIM LEE.

GOD SAVE THE STATE.
By his Excellency's Command,
Tho. Johnson, jun. Secr'y.

The proclamation is also printed in the *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 43.

Thomas Sim Lee to the Chevalier de La Luzerne [18]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

[In Council, Annapolis December 3, 1779]

We were honored with your Excellency's Letter of the 17th ulto [19] The polite Assurance that you received Pleasure when you understood the Commander of his most Christian Majesty's Squadron had made Choice of this Station because you could rely on us for Succour, communicated the highest Satisfaction. Such is our Inclination to render every Assistance in our Power to the Troops of our illustrious Ally, that nothing was necessary to prompt us to an Exertion for their Relief, but a Communication of their Wants and sufferings. Our Duty seconded by our Attachment to Friends who have bravely fought and bled in the Cause of Liberty, lead us to consider their Distresses as our Own, and make our Exertions to provide the Sick and wounded with suitable Lodgings and proper Sustenance, the most pleasing Task. Victualling the Squadron is certainly an important Object and demands our utmost Endeavours to enable Monsr DeGrasse or any other French Commander, to procure full and Speedy Supplies for the Use of the Fleet. The Congratulation of your Excellency, is flattering. Convinced that America is interested in the judicious Appointments of your King, it gives us infinite Pleasure in felicitating you and United America, on your Excellency's Appointment, which alone can console us for the Loss of your worthy Predecessor, whose Goodness of Heart impelled him, on every Occasion to exert his extraordinary Abilities in promoting such Measures as tended, not only to render the present happy Connexion between France and America permanent, but to secure the Happiness and Independence of the Latter. We have the Honor to be &ca

[Your Excellency's Most Obedient
[and
[Most Humble Servants
[Tho Sim Lee]

Chevalier de La Luzerne to Thomas Sim Lee [20]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Philadelphia, Dec. [8?] 1779

[Sir,]

I have the honor of reporting to you a rumor from New York, which can be trusted. His Majesty's vessels and other craft at present in Chesa-

---

[18] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 29-30.

[19] The letter of November 17, 1779, is in the Hall of Records, Annapolis. See *Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 3, The Brown Books* (Annapolis, 1948), nos. 251 and 252.

[20] Translation of letter printed in French in *Archives of Maryland,* XLIII, 383-384. See *Brown Books*, nos. 257 and 258.

peake Bay would seem to be actually menaced by the fleet and debarking troops at Sandy Hook.

In these circumstances I cannot but rely on Your Excellency, and with confidence in the good will you have already manifested, I beg you to act in concert with the Marquis Viomenil [21] (or any other officers commanding His Majesty's Vessels in Chesapeake Bay) and procure him the means of defending the position he may have chosen.

I received, Sir, the letter with which you honored me the 3rd of this month. I was touched by the sentiments it contained, and I beg you to transmit my thanks to the representatives of the State of which you are Governor.

I have no news of the arrival of H.[is] E.[xcellency] the Count de Grasse [22] in your Bay, but I can well count in advance on the proofs of affection and friendship this Officer, and any other French Commander would receive from You and the citizens of Maryland.

I look upon every occasion of consolidating the union that exists between our two nations as a special happiness.

I will transmit to M. Gerard your kind messages to him, and I hope my attachment for United America will justify that which you have so kindly addressed to me.

With respectful attachment I am, Sir, the very humble and very obedient servant of your Excellency

[Chevalier de La Luzerne

[His Excellency Thos. Sim Lee Esq.]

Thomas Sim Lee to Thomas Jefferson [23]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

In Council Annapolis 20th. Decr. 1779

Sir.

The enclosed is a Copy of Intelligence, this Moment received by this Board, from his Excellency the Chevalier De la Luzerne.[24] We have taken the speediest Method of conveying it to your Excellency, under an Impression of the Propriety of giving you the earliest Intimation of the Design of the Enemy

We have the Honor to be &ca.

[Your Excellency's
[Most Humble and Obedient Servants
[Tho Sim Lee]

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[21] Antoine Charles du Houx, Baron de Viomenil, (1728-1792) was second in command under Rochambeau at Yorktown. He was fatally wounded when protecting Louis XVI in 1792.

[22] Francois Joseph Paul, Count de Grasse.

[23] Printed in Boyd, *Jefferson*, III, 238, and *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 38-39.

[24] The enclosure is a copy of the preceding letter. For Jefferson's reply (December 26) to Lee's letter, see Boyd, *Jefferson*, III, 243-244.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

In Council Annapolis 3rd February 1780

Sir:

We have given Permission to Mrs. Chamier, Widow of Daniel Chamier Esquire deceased, to bring her Household Furniture, Wearing Apparel, and other Goods mentioned in a List annexed thereto, from New York, to Hampton Road in Virginia.

We are induced from Motives of Compassion, and the generous Conduct of her late Husband, to many of our Prisoners, to grant her Leave, and to solicit your Excellency's Interposition, to obtain her the desired Indulgence, if you esteem it consistant with Propriety.

We are with the utmost Respect
Your Excellency's
Most Humble Serv.ts

Tho. Sim Lee

His Excy Genl. Washington

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE [25]

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 19, 1780

Sir:

About the latter end of December I had the honor to receive a letter from His Excellency Governor Johnson [26] dated 27th October [1779], in which he proposed an arrangement for the three companies of Artillery belonging to the State of Maryland, and asks my opinion upon it.

As General Knox,[27] who is at the head of the Artillery, is, consequently, best acquainted with its interior circumstances and can best judge of the operation of any changes which might take place, I communicated the letter to him to know his sentiments.

I beg leave to add that my sentiments correspond with his, and that the mode he recommends appears to me well calculated to do justice to the State of the three companies and to promote the general good of the service.

It is essential to have the corps that compose the army upon one foundation and regulated by general principles.

The contrary is productive of innumerable inconveniences.

This makes me wish the idea of erecting the four companies into a separate corps under the command of a Major, may be relinquished.

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[25] Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XVIII, 31-32. ("The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton."—Fitzpatrick.)

[26] Thomas Johnson, Jr. (1732-1819), who served as governor from 1777 to 1779.

[27] Henry Knox (1750-1806), subsequently Washington's Secretary of War.

If this is agreeable to the views of the State, I shall be happy its intentions may be signified as speedily as possible to Congress, that the incorporation and arrangement may be carried into execution.

I have the honor to be etc.

Geo. Washington

Thomas Sim Lee to George Washington [28]

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Annapolis March 23, 1780

Sir,

We have had the honor of receiving your Excellency's Letters of the 19th & 20th Ultimo. and 10th of the Current Month with their several inclosures, every [one] of which shall be immediately laid before the Honorable General Assembly now about to meet.

The Recruiting Officers in this State have not had the success we wished, yet they have procured a sufficient Number to lessen our Deficiency considerably and should the Legislature continue our Recruiting six or eight weeks beyond the time limited for its Duration, we should have reason to expect our Quota will be nearly if not entirely compleat in that Space.

We have the Honor to be,
with sentiments of the most
perfect personal respect,
esteem and attachment
Your Excellency's
Most Humble Obe. Servant
Tho. Sim Lee

To His Ex.
George Washington

Thomas Sim Lee to Thomas Jefferson [29]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Sir In Council Annapolis 23d. Feby. 1780.

We had the Honor to receive your Excellency's Letter of the 30th. Jany.[30] The Necessity which constrained our Assembly to enact a Law, the extensive Operation of which has interfered with the Purchases made

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[28] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 118.

[29] Printed in Boyd, *Jefferson*, 303-304, and *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 95.

[30] Jefferson to Lee, Jan. 30, 1780, printed in Boyd, *Jefferson*, III, 279-280. Jefferson complained that some 1,400 barrels of flour purchased by an agent of Virginia had been seized under provisions of a Maryland law, although Governor Johnson had previously granted permission for the purchase of 2,000 barrels for the use of Virginia troops.

by your Agent, for the Subsistence of the Military of your State, we must deplore, and can assure you that an anxious Solicitude for the Welfare of the United States and an Opinion that nothing short of the most vigorous and sudden Exertions, could procure an immediate and full Supply for our distressed Army, were the only Motives which prompted them to make it so general. We are satisfied it is not the Intention of the Act, to provide Supplies for State Troops, because, when it was made, it was not known that the Military of any particular State was in Distress. The Object of the Assembly being an immediate and full Supply for the Army, we cannot admit your Exposition of the Law, because it would, in some Degree, counteract the Purpose of it and because we think the Word "others" was inserted with a view of including every Person in whose Possession any Flour or Wheat was found and may well comprehend the Agent of Virginia; and that, unless such Construction is made, as there is no other Person except the Agent of the Marine of France (whose Flour is also deemed seizable) to whom it can relate, that Word would be deprived of its Effect, and a well known Principle in expounding Act of the Legislature, would be infringed, that a Law ought to be so construed that no Word should be rendered void or insignificant if it can be prevented. We must further observe that the Intention of the Assembly ought to prevail, which is to be collected from the Cause or Necessity which induced them to make the Law. We cannot esteem it necessary to enter into a minute Discussion of the present Question or to resort to nice and subtil Reasoning to justify an Exertion which was requisite to prevent the numerous Calamities which must result from the Dissolution of the Continental Army. We are sensible it is the mutual Interest of both States to preserve the Harmony that subsists between them which, added to our Desire to contribute all we possibly can to the Relief of your Distresses, make us wish to receive Information from Congress or His Excellency General Washington, that the Army is supplied, that we may have it in our Power to restore your Flour, before you feel any Inconveniencies from the Seizure of it. Our Assembly will meet the second Day of March, when your Excellency's Letter will be laid before them for their Consideration.

We are &c.

Your Excellency's

[Most Humble and Obedient Servants

[Tho Sim Lee]

George Washington to Thomas Sim Lee [81]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Head Quarters, March 10, 1780.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of writing to Your Excellency on the 20th Ulto. I have obtained Returns of some Corps, which I had not then. I

[81] Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XVIII, 102.

find there are in Moylan's [32] Regiment of Light Dragoons a few Men belonging to the State of Maryland, of which I inclose You a particular Return, specifying the terms for which they stand engaged.

I have received within a few days past the Honor of Your Excellency's Letter of the 3d of last month. In consequence, I have informed General Gist [33] that a Flag shall be furnished to convey Your passport to New York, respecting Mrs Chamier's furniture &c, and I very much wish that She may receive them safe. Her peculiar circumstances and the generosity of Mr Chamier in his life time to our prisoners, as has been frequently mentioned, seem to have given Mrs Chamier a good claim to the indulgence the Council have granted.

I have the Honor, etc.

[Geo. Washington]

Thomas Sim Lee to William Smith [34]

(Yale University Library)

In Council Annapolis 22d. Apl. 1780

Sir:

We have sent Permissions to load the Vessels mentioned in your Letter of the 20th Inst. with Flour for the Use of the Fleet and Army of his most Christian Majesty in the West Indies.[35]

It is not now in our Power to fix the Time of the Delivery of the Flour allotted for the French by the State, but shall endeavour to have it done as soon as possible. We have wrote to Mr. Dallam [36] to deliver to you and your Order, the French Wheat and Flour seized by him and shall direct the Commissioners of the several Counties that have made Seizures of the French Flour, to restore it to you: enclosed is an Order for that Purpose on the Commissioners of Baltimore County

We are Sir

Your mo. obedt. Servts.

Tho. Sim Lee

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[32] Stephen Moylan (1737-1811), who organized a regiment of cavalry at Washington's request in December, 1776.

[33] Mordecai Gist (1742-1792).

[34] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 149-150. The correspondent's name does not appear on the manuscript but is identified in the *Archives*.

[35] The French fleet and army of Louis XVI.

[36] Richard Dallam. This letter, printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 149, is also dated April 22.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO JOSEPH REED [37]

(Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

In Council Annapolis 23rd June 1780

Sir

We received your favor of the 16th and have laid it with the Resolution of your Excellency & Council before the General Assembly. As soon as the Result of their deliberation thereon, is made known to Us, We shall communicate it to your Excellency. We are sensible that your design, in laying the Embargo, may be frustrated unless a similar Resolution is adopted by this State, and therefore we should not have hesitated in the Recess of the Assembly, to have imposed such a Restriction, as would have prevented the evil suggested in your Letter.

Nothing has a stronger Tendency to produce that Harmony, so desirable between our States, as mutual Endeavours to facilitate the Execution of Measures, concerted by either, for the General good, and being under that impression, we shall on every occasion chearfully co-operate with your Board, in furthering them.

We are with perfect
respect & Esteem
Your Excellency's
Mo. Obed. & Mo.
Hble. Servts.

Tho. Sim Lee

To
His Exc'y. Jos. Reed, Esq.,
President of the State
of Pennsylvania

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE [38]

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Headquarters
Bergen County [, N. J.]
July 26th, 1780

To Governor Thomas Sim Lee

Sir:

I have been honored with your Excellency's favor of the 10th inclosing copies of the several laws passed by the Legislature of Your State, for

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[37] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 203, and *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 1, VIII, 354. Reed's letter of June 16, printed in *ibid.*, 330, states that the effect of an embargo on shipping designed to fill army quotas and preserve supplies is lost because Pennsylvania men go to the port of Baltimore.

[38] Original in Hall of Records, Annapolis; see *Brown Books*, no. 366. Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XIX, 255.

procuring the Supplies of Men, provisions, and Carriages required by the Hon^ble the Committee of Cooperation in conjunction with me.

The readiness with which these laws were passed, and the pointed attention your Excellency seems determined to pay to the due execution of them, are happy presages that they will be Speedily and fully carried into effect.

I have the honor to be etc.

Geo. Washington

Baron de Kalb, a Bavarian by birth, received his training in the French army, where he was created Major General. On his arrival with Lafayette, whom he had accompanied at the request of Louis XVI, he was appointed Major General in the American army, where his experience proved of great value. His first winter was spent with Washington at Valley Forge.

BARON DE KALB TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Camp on Deep River July 9th 1780

Sir.

Major Steward [39] being willing to Employ himself in any one way conducing to the good of the Service, I thought proper to send him to Maryland for various purposes viz:

To Collect all such men as staid behind, or deserted since the Division went to the Southward of your State, together with the Sick or recruits actually in the State or on the Road, and to march them to Camp. He will be able to give an Exact account to your Excellency of my Situation in Respect to numbers and Provisions. The Scarcity of this last Article is very distressing and will in all Probability prevent my going nearer the Enemies Lines. Being obliged to send the greatest part of the Troops out for Supplies I hardly could obtain any thing this long time but by Military Authority. I beg your Excellency's particular attention to what Major Steward will propose on the Subject.

I could wish also the Legislative and Executive Powers of the State would approve of his proposals for a Body of Light horse to be formed for the service, either in this Southern Army or in the Main Army.

He will mention also to your Excellency the reduction of the number of your Regiments, which I think would be very beneficial on many accounts, these to be incorporated to return again to their own respective Corps as soon as they could be nearly compleated. It would save immense Expense, promote the Service and lessen the Baggage. several Methods might be adopted to Effect the same. Major Steward can give my Opinion fully on the Matter, in case it was approved of. Your

[39] John Stewart (d. 1782), of Maryland, who by Act of Congress a year earlier had received a silver medal for distinguished service.

Excellency will prescribe the most eligible way to do it. It will be next to impossible to keep the field if no Method is fastened upon to supply the Troops.

With great respect I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's
Mo. obed^{t}. & very hble. serv.
Baron de Kalb

His Excellency
Thomas Sim Lee Esq
Governor of the State of
Maryland

THOMAS SIM LEE TO DELEGATES IN CONGRESS [40]

(Papers of Continental Congress, National Archives)

In Council Annapolis 27th July 1780

Gentlemen.

We have enclosed you a Copy of a Letter from the Baron De Kalb, addressed to this Board. He represents the Maryland Division to be in great Distress for Want of Provisions; the Scarcity of which will prevent them from approaching nearer the Enemy's Lines, unless proper Measures are taken to supply them. We esteem it necessary that this Representation should be laid before Congress, in Order that some Mode may be pointed out to furnish them immediately, which is impracticable by this State, the Distance being so great; and if it could be done, the Expense would be enormous. It certainly would not be inconvenient to the States of North Carolina and Virginia to provide for their Subsistence. We have, upon all Occasions, exerted ourselves to take Care of the Troops of other States, marching through this. As we are not invested with competent Authority to carry into Effect, his Proposals of forming a Body of Light Horse for the Service in the Southern [41] or Main Army, and reducing the Number of Regiments in the Maryland Line; we did not think it necessary to consider the Propriety of them, but have submitted those Subjects to the Consideration of Congress.

We are
Gentlemen
with perfect Respect and Esteem
Your obed^{t}. Serv^{ts}.
Tho. S. Lee

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[40] Record copy in Hall of Records, Annapolis. Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 235-236. For enclosure, see preceding letter (July 9).

[41] The word "Southern" is omitted in the *Archives*.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO SAMUEL HUNTINGTON [42]

(Papers of Continental Congress, National Archives)

In Council Annapolis 24th July 1780

Sir;

Last Evening We had the Honor to receive by Express your Excellency's Letter of the 29rd ult.[43] with a Resolution of Congress of the same Date directing Warrants to be drawn in Favor of the Treasurer of the United States,[44] on the Treasurer of the several States from New Hampshire to Maryland inclusive for their respective proportions of the ten Million of Dollars specially called for by the Resolution of the 19th May last. When that Resolution, and the Letter accompanying it, were received the general Assembly was not sitting and we were induced, from the urgent necessity of complying with it, to appoint persons, in the several Counties of this State, to solicit a Loan of our proportion of that Sum; and to prevent as far as possible the Evils that might result from a Failure, We convened the general Assembly immediately, in order, that the most efficacious Measures might be adopted to procure it. The Resolution and Letter were laid before them and several Laws enacted for the purpose of obtaining the Quota of this State. In consequence of which and the Assessment Acts not more than 200000 Dollars have been drawn into our Treasury, beyond what, We have advanced for the Use of the Continental Army, which, We can assure your Excellency, though We cannot precisely ascertain the Quantum, is far from being inconsiderable. The 8th Instant We sent by Express 200000 Dollars to the Continental Treasurer and wrote to the Delegates of the State on the Subject of the Requisition of the 19th May.[45]

It is with the utmost regret We inform Congress of our Inability to comply with their earnest and pressing Application; Nothing could in the least alleviate the poignant Anxiety We feel from contemplating the Miseries that must ensue, a Dissolution of the Army, or a Suspension of the Operations of this present Campaign, but a Consciousness that the Failure of the Supply required is not imputable to Supineness or Unwillingness in this State to render every Assistance, but the want of Time

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[42] (1731-1796), of Connecticut, president of the Continental Congress, 1779-1780; signer of the Declaration of Independence; and Governor of his State.

[43] On June 20 Washington wrote to the President of Congress (Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XIX, 34-38), mentioning, among other matters, the shortage of shirts and other necessary supplies. On June 23, the Congress ordered an extract of the General's letter be sent by express to each of the States "from New Hampshire to Maryalnd, inclusive, and that the executive powers be most earnestly requested to forward on the supplies of men and provisions with the utmost expedition, and transmit to Congress and the committee at head quarters, with all possible despatch, an account of the proceedings of their respective states, on which the Commander in Chief can rely, and by which he may be enabled to regulate his future operations."

[44] Michael Hillegas (1729-1804), of Pennsylvania.

[45] Maryland's share of $10,000,000 requisition was $1,234,350. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVII, 437.

to execute the Laws and in some Measure to the Scarcity of Money to answer the various Demands incessantly made on the People to support Government and to provide Men, Money and Provision for the Army of the States. We can assure Congress that the full Sum required will be forwarded to the Treasury of the United States as procured, and that our Attention will not be remitted but every Exertion made to facilitate the procurement of it. The Expedient of borrowing has been resorted to with such frequency and our Credit has received fresh Wound from our not complying punctually with our Engagements, that We can expect to derive little or no Relief from the Adoption of it in future.

We have transmitted herewith a Copy of the Act for sinking the Quota required by Congress of this State of the Bills of Credit emitted by Congress.[46]

We have the honor to be with perfect Respect & Esteem
Your Excellencys Most Obed. Hble. Serv.ts

Tho. S. Lee

His Excellency Sam Huntington
President of Congress

John Hanson was in 1780 one of Maryland's delegates to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, of which body he was later appointed President.

A chief duty was to keep Governor Lee informed of the progress of the war, as news of it reached Congress, both as to facts and rumors.

A biography of him, published lately, speaks of very few of his letters surviving.[47] In our collection, however, there are fifty-six, written to Governor Lee during this period.

His statue has been placed in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol in Washington, one of the Maryland patriots chosen, the other being Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia
July 25th 1780

Dear Sir

I am favored with yours by the last post; be pleased to present my Compliments to Mrs. Lee, and tell her her Commands shall be executed—

Tho' the best kind of Chariot was made a month or six weeks ago,

[46] "An Act to procure a loan," *Laws of Maryland*, June, 1780, Chapter II.

[47] J. Bruce Kremer, *John Hanson of Mulberry Grove* (New York, 1938), p. 134. See also biographical sketches in *D. A. B.*, VIII, 231-232, and *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1950), p. 1264.

for 150 £ hard money, the price is now from 200 to 220—if you are willing to give this price, be pleased to let me know, and I will engage one o fthe best kind immediately, and you may get it by the middle or end of September.

There is a second hand Coach to be sold for 200 £ hard. I understand it has seen wear six years—I have examined it, the wheels are almost new, and the Harness altogether so—the Body is very good, and every part of the Carriage appears to be strong and in good order. The lining is a green Silk Damask. The Cushions are a good deal worn, but the man will engage to furnish new ones of the same with the lining. It appears to be rather heavy, and the shape of the Body not altogether in the modern taste—tho' it looks well, being genteely painted. But I would rather advise your having a new one made, or a new chariot, rather than purchase this—you will then be sure of a good one, and agreeable to your own fancy. You will let me hear from you on the subject by the next post. The sooner the better.

There was an Embarkation of Troops from New York last week, and a fleet of Ships of War and other vessels, amounting to 61 to 62, sailed from the Hook, Wednesday last, Steering as far as they could be seen, about a South East Course.

Various are the Conjectures respecting their destination. Some are of opinion they are gone to the West Indies to reinforce Admiral Rodney [48] who, it is said, has lately met with a severe drubing by the Combined fleets having lost 4 Ships. A 74 sank [49] and three taken, and the rest drove into St. Lucia, some in a shattered condition. Others are of opinion (which I think the most probable) that their object is Rhode Island. The Superiority they have at present, and the number of Troops they may spare from New York for so short an Expedition, may induce them to attempt something before the present fleet and army there can be reinforced. A few days will clear us our Doubts.

With great esteem and respect

I am Dear Sir,

Your most humble Sert.

John Hanson

(To be continued in the June number.)

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[48] Sir George Rodney.
[49] A 74-gun vessel.

SPOILS, SOILS, AND SKINNER

By Harold A. Bierck, Jr.

I.

"'I WANT a Young Man's Companion,' says a gentleman to a bookseller:—'Then here's my daughter,' replies the other."—so went a filler in John Stuart Skinner's *American Farmer*.[1] In a more serious mood the Baltimorean might have inserted "I want a more varied agriculture; I want to spread American democracy," and replied, "Then look to Latin America," for Skinner, scion of an old Maryland family,[2] plunged his multi-editorial pen, supported his purse, and prodded many a plowman in aiding and abetting Latin-American independence and inter-American agricultural exchange.

Famed as America's pioneer farm journalist, this agricultural confessor of Jefferson, Madison, Thomas Pickering, Edmund Ruffin, John Taylor, and David Porter,[3] edited the *American Farmer* from 1819 to 1830 when he sold out for $20,000.[4] One

[1] *The American Farmer; devoted to agriculture, horticulture and rural life.* First series, 15 vols. (Baltimore, April 2, 1819-March 7, 1834), XI, 93; hereinafter cited as *A. F.* Skinner served as publisher and editor from April 2, 1819, to August 27, 1830, and as editor May 29, 1839, to August 18, 1841.

[2] Sketches of Skinner's life, frequently in error as to details, appear in the following: *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVII, 199-200; E. M. Ridout, "Col. John Stewart Skinner (1788-1851)," *Patriotic Marylander,* I (1915), 49-54; Liberty Hyde Bailey (ed.), *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture* (15 vols. N. Y. Macmillan, 1930-35, 15 vols., XIV, 72-73; W. E. Ogilvie, *Pioneer Agricultural Journalists* (Chicago, 1927), 3-9; A. O. Craven, "The Agricultural Reformers of the Ante-Bellum South," *American Historical Review,* XXXIII (1928) 302-314; *Baltimore Sun,* February 17, 1935; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (6 vols. New York, 1888), V, 545; Harry W. Smith, *A Sporting Family of the Old South* (Albany, 1936), 8-14. The bulk of the information in the above is included in Ben P. Poore, "Biographical Notice of John Stuart Skinner," *The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil* (10 vols. Philadelphia, 1848-57), VII, 1-20.

[3] J. S. Skinner to James Madison, August 3, 1822, in Madison Papers (Library of Congress); Skinner's extensive correspondence with David Porter is located in part in the David Porter Papers (Library of Congress); see also Harold T. Pinkett, "The American Farmer, A pioneer Agricultural Journal, 1819-1834," *Agricultural History,* XXIV (1950), 146-150, and *Farmer's Register* (Edmund Ruffin, ed.), III, 316, 392, IX, 156-158.

[4] Poore, "Biographical Notice," 4; Albert L. Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (New York, 1941).

year earlier he had begun the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine,*[5] sold it in 1835 for $10,000 and returned as editor but not owner to the *Farmer,* May, 1839-August, 1841. Following a stay in Washington, Horace Greeley called him and "the Southern men followed him . . . and continued to profit by his efforts" [6] to his other papers, the Greeley-owned *Monthly Journal of Agriculture and Farmer's Library* (New York, 1845-1848) and his own Philadelphia published and H. C. Carey inspired, *The Plough, the Loom, and Anvil* (1848-1851). His will to write enlightened the dog-lover and the huntsman—he "was born with a love of field sports" [7]—and the sheepman.[8] His *Essay on Ass and Mule* established the worth of those lowly beasts from South America, and his *Curso elemental de agricultura para el uso de los colegios y escuelas populares* was an innovation in both Americas.[9] Midst frequent calls to address agricultural societies from Massachusetts to Louisiana,[10] he revised, wrote, and edited treatises on milch cows, farriery, and veterinianship.[11] Extensive and profitable as well was the translating and editing of John S. Skinner—the unheralded proponent of a superior agricultural system.

Born on a Maryland farm in Calvert County on February 22, 1788, the future "Ruffian, patriot, and philanthropist . . ." as John Quincy Adams was to call him,[12] was fathered by a gentleman of "old-fashioned common sense, mechanical ingenuity, and

[5] Bertha L. Heilbron, "The American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine," *Minnesota History,* XIV (1933), 421-444.

[6] *D.A.B.,* XVII, 199; Craven, "The Agricultural Reformers," 309; *Plough, Loom, and Anvil,* IV, 348. Quotation is Craven's.

[7] Statement of son, F. G. Skinner, quoted in Margery Whyte, "The Baltimore Hunt Club." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXV (1940), 162. Skinner's *The Dog and the Sportsman* (Philadelphia, 1845) was unique in its day.

[8] *Essay on Sheep* (Philadelphia, 1844).

[9] *Essay on Ass and Mule* published with William Youatt, *The Horse* (Philadelphia, 1843).

[10] The *American Farmer* and the *Plough, Loom and Anvil* contain numerous references to such activities and print several of his addresses some of which were reprinted in pamphlet form—see *Address by J. S. Skinner before the Agricultural Society of New Castle County Delaware* (1843), and *Address delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association* (Boston, 1850).

[11] "Introductory Remarks on the cow and the dairy," in François Guénon, *A Treatise on Milch Cows* (14 ed. N. Y., Saxton, 1862); Richard Mason's *Farmer and Stud-book . . . with a Supplement. . . .* By J. S. Skinner (Philadelphia, 1848) in John Badcock, *Farriery* (Philadelphia, 1848); *Notes to Francis Clater, Every Man his Own Farrier* (Philadelphia, 1845) and *Supplement to Francis Clater, Everyman His Own Cattle Doctor* (Philadelphia, 1848).

[12] Charles F. Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, comprising portions of his Diary from 1795-1843* (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), IV, 515.

. . . openhearted benevolence. . . ." [13] Educated at Charlotte Hall, St. Mary's County, he read law under the father of Reverdy Johnson, was appointed reading clerk of the Maryland legislature, and Notary Public to the city of Annapolis while still a minor.[14] In 1809, the year his father died, he was admitted to the bar of Maryland.[15] Three years later he married Elizabeth Glen Davis, step-daughter of Theodorick A. Bland of Baltimore,[16] and, by special commission, was appointed by Madison as Inspector of British and European mails and mail packets arriving at Annapolis.[17] On March 26, 1814, he reluctantly—he was fearful of being shipped out—accepted from Madison a purser's commission in the Navy [18] at $40 a month " on the ground of personal acquaintance, confidence, and friendship." [19]

While in naval service he performed two dramatic acts. A Revere-like ride enabled him to warn the capital of the British approach in August, 1814.[20] Returning to Baltimore, he was appointed by the Department of State and the Commissary General of Prisoners to act as Agent for Exchange of Prisoners. As such, and accompanied by barrister Francis Scott Key, Skinner set out to interview the British Admiral Sir George Cockburn. This mission accomplished, the Admiral revealed his plan to pour shot into Fort McHenry, and just prior to the bombs' bursting, Skinner and his companion demanded they be returned, so Skinner wrote thirty-five years later

> To our own vessel—one of Ferguson's Norfolk packets, under our own " Star-Spangled Banner." . . . It was from *her* deck, in view of Fort McHenry, that we witnessed . . . [the bombardment]; and the song, which was written the night after we got back to Baltimore . . . in a [hotel] room was but a versified and almost literal transcript of our expressed hopes

[13] Poore, " Biographical Notice," 2.

[14] Theoderick Bland to Sister, June 8, 1813, Theoderick Bland Papers (Maryland Historical Society); *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVII, 199.

[15] *Plough, Loom, and Anvil,* IV, 348.

[16] Smith, *Sporting Family,* 45-46, wherein is quoted his letter to Bland requesting her hand.

[17] His services in these posts—an interesting tale in itself—are related in his letters to the Secretary of State located in Department of State: Miscellaneous Letters Series, National Archives of the United States, Washington. Herinafter cited as DS: Misc.

[18] *American State Papers. Class VI, Naval Affairs* (4 vols. Washington, 1836), I, 348, 368; Edward W. Callahan, *List of Officers of the Navy of the United States . . . 1775 to 1900* (New York, 1901), p. 500.

[19] *Plough, Loom, and Anvil,* I, 254.

[20] Poore, " Biographical Notice," 3.

and apprehensions. . . . Calling on its accomplished author the next morning, he handed it to the undersigned, who passed it to the *Baltimore Patriot* and through it to immortality.[21]

With the conclusion of that inconclusive war with Britain, Skinner traded government jobs. Due to powerful and good friends he was made postmaster at Baltimore in 1816, which post he held until 1839.[22] Only his zeal in the apprehension of a mail robber and a temporary falling behind in payments to the government barred his success in handling the mails. In the first instance he exceeded his authority by offering a $1,000 reward, but he defended himself by saying that the Postmaster General "would make much allowance if he had witnessed the excitement produced . . . by the arrival and exhibition at the Post Office Door of the dead body of the [mail] driver. . . ." [23] But the Postmaster General was taciturn. Bodies did not affect him. Skinner was told that "a great reward does not appear to be necessary in such a case and the . . . [customary] sum of three hundred dollars is believed to be fully adequate." [24] His arrears are something of a mystery for postal records do not reveal them. In his private correspondence with John McClean, Postmaster General, he confesses the debt in an April, 1828, letter, and thirteen months after, states he has repaid in full.[25] A decade later this sinecure ran afoul of Van Buren's whims. Bland pleaded with the President that his son-in-law's removal would be attended with the "most serious embarrassment" but if a change was to be made Skinner should be given time to find "self-support." [26] Jackson's heir shot back that a new appointment was coming "but not because of unfriendly feelings towards Skinner." [27] But Skinner held the last "postal" card. Harrison not only reappointed him in 1841 but

[21] J. S. Skinner, "Incidents of the War of 1812. From the *Baltimore Patriot*," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXII (1937), 340-347. Skinner reported personally to Madison respecting his meeting with Cockburn in a letter dated August 13, 1814, Madison Papers.

[22] Poore, "Biographical Notice," 7; *D.A.B.*, XVII, 200. He rejected Madison's offers of a judgeship in the West and the position of secretary of state of Arkansas (*Plough, Loom, and Anvil* IV, 349).

[23] Skinner to A. Bradly, Adjutant Postmaster General, July 3, 1820, DS: Misc.

[24] R. Meigs to Skinner, April 24, 1820, *ibid.*

[25] April 18, 1828, May 8, 1829, John McClean Papers (Library of Congress).

[26] March 18, 1839, in Bernard C. Steiner, ed., "Van Buren's Maryland Correspondents (Part II)," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* IX (1914), 254.

[27] *Ibid.*, 255.

made him an assistant to the Postmaster General. Four years later, lured by Greeley's gold, he gave up the mails.[28]

Being a man of self-perpetuating energy Skinner found that editing and postmastering did not consume all his time. He had many other pens in the inkwell. As corresponding-secretary of the Maryland Agricultural Society he promoted various exhibits, one of which, held in June, 1825, displayed cattle and household manufactures. He invited President Adams to attend, but the dour New Englander refused to "set a precedent for being claimed as an article of exhibition at all the cattle shows throughout the Union."[29] As business manager for Lafayette and arranger for the Frenchman's 1824 visit to Baltimore,[30] Skinner tended to and planned for the sale of the 20,000-acre Florida land grant made to America's hero by Congress,[31] while the General step-fathered the education of Skinner's eldest son in France.[32] The Lafayette Institution of Baltimore—especially recommended to those who appreciated "the great value of a practical knowledge of the French and Spanish tongues, so far as to speak them for professional and business purposes"—was another Skinner enterprise in coöperation with five other apostles of practical pedagogy.[33] In keeping with his interest in the Spanish tongue Skinner insisted that Lafayette see to it that his son Frederick be thoroughly instructed in the Iberian idiom.[34] Still another venture was Skinner's investment in the Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Fine Arts from which, however, he withdrew in 1838.[35] Ever the visionary, he was a great advocate of promoting progress. In 1830 he proposed the creation of a naval academy and was probably surprised when this was done

[28] Poore, "Biographical Notice," 10.

[29] Adams, *Memoirs,* VII, 13. Adams concluded his reply to Skinner thus: "'Seest thou a man diligent *in his business.*'"

[30] Lafayette to Skinner, November 12, 1824, New York Public Library.

[31] *Id.* to *id.,* May 8, 1827, Maryland Historical Society; *A.F.,* XI, 23, XII, 398; Lafayette to Skinner April 28, 1837. This letter and others written by Lafayette and his sons to Skinner and his family are in the possession of Mrs. Frederick Stuart Greene of Warrenton, Virginia. The author is indebted to Mrs. Greene and to her son Mr. Francis Thornton Greene for the use of this correspondence, the inspection of the Skinner portrait and silver, and for an exceedingly pleasant visit.

[32] Lafayette to Skinner, March 12, 1828, Bland Papers.

[33] *A.F.,* XI, 383.

[34] Lafayette to Skinner, March 12, 1828, Bland Papers.

[35] Skinner to B. A. Cohen, July 19, 1838, Jonathan Meredith Papers (Library of Congress).

fifteen years later;[36] but he was on good terms with the commodores, and Adams and Jackson honored him with an appointment as Visitor to the Academy at West Point.[37] Congress proved more obdurate. His petition to that body pleading for a department of agriculture in the government and advocating federal appropriations to state governments for the establishment of institutions devoted to instruction in geology, civil engineering, and agricultural mechanics was not heeded by a majority for many a year.[38] Service to his state was performed as a member of the House of Delegates and public representative on the Board of Directors of the Bank of Maryland.[39] A man of such drive and influence deserved, perhaps, better treatment at the hands of his maker and the largess of posterity. The latter hangs in the balance; the former is a matter of fact; for on March 21, 1851, while visiting Baltimore, Skinner remarked to his wife "I am in better health and feel more like myself than I have for years." A few hours later, while in the post office, mistaking a cellar door for the street exit, he fell down the stairs fracturing his skull. Murmuring "My God! Trouble will soon be over," he died shortly after.[40]

As a man, writer, agriculturist, and spirited citizen, John S. Skinner was admired and doubtless scorned by many of his contemporaries. Of him Adams commented:

> He is a man of mingled character, of daring and pernicious principles, of restless and rash temper, and yet of useful and honorable enterprise. Ruffian, patriot, and philanthropist are so blended in him that I cannot appreciate him without a mingled sentiment of detestation and esteem. I consider him as the originator and cause of all the Baltimore piracies which have injured and still dishonor this nation. He has infected not only that city, but the moral feelings of this whole community and the public councils of the country, to such a degree as to stay the hand of justice itself. He has embroiled us with two foreign nations whose good will it is most important to us to possess. He has been now nearly two years under indictment for being concerned in the Baltimore piracies, and has contrived to get his father-in-law appointed the Judge to decide upon them. Yet his private character is such that he has numerous and very ardent friends. He made to the Government, at a critical period, important

[36] Skinner to David Porter, February 2, 1830, David Porter Papers (Library of Congress).
[37] Poore, "Biographical Notice," 4.
[38] "Memorial of J. S. Skinner," *Senate Miscellaneous Document* No. 120, 30th Congress, 1st Session; *Congressional Globe,* 30th Cong., 2nd Sess., 37.
[39] Poore, "Biographical Notice," 13.
[40] Baltimore *Clipper,* March 22, 1851.

disclosures concerning McGregor and his Amelia Island buccaneering expedition, and he has been during the last year editor of a weekly newspaper called the American Farmer, devoted altogether to agricultural improvements, and which is a very valuable publication.[41]

Examined in the light of substantiating fact—that flesh on the bones of history—Adams' charges are more true than false. Herein lies the hitherto masked Skinner, the hater of the French, and the ardent and vocal Latin-American sympathizer. The stage was Baltimore; the cast a group of merchants, unemployed sea captains, and willing seamen. The plot—enrichment at the expense of Spanish vessels and cargoes—all undertaken under the guise, more often sincere than not, of aiding the Independents of Latin America to secure their freedom from Spain. During the years 1816-21, Baltimore become the United States mecca for Buenos Aires, Chilean, Venezuelan, and New Granadan agents. Most of these men carried blank privateering commissions. To the trade-starved commercial interests of the Maryland capital and the idle ship owners of the fast Baltimore clipper, here was an opportunity to recoup from embargoes, war-restricted commerce, and to resume a sea practice ended by the War of 1812. Privateering, illegal but profitable, reëstablished the port, led to the financing of expeditions against Chile, Mexico, and Florida, the creation of mining companies, and to a major share in United States-Latin American commerce during the 1820's. That trade in the decades beyond stressed flour as an export and guano as an import to and from the nations to the South. The " piracies " of which Adams wrote set in motion a flow of silver that was broken only by the holocaust of the 1860's.[42] " By sweeping the Spanish merchant marine from the seas the privateers . . . [were] an important factor in keeping the revolts in Latin America alive " midst the critical revolutionary years of 1816-1820.[43]

Skinner revelled in the privateering business. He participated with his purse and protected his investment with his pen. His

[41] Adams, *Memoirs,* IV, 515-516.

[42] Baltimore privateering of this period is best discussed in Charles C. Griffin, " Privateering from Baltimore during the Spanish American Wars of Independence," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXV (1940), 1-25; see also Joseph B. Lockey, *Pan-Americanism, Its Beginnings* (New York, 1926), 174-176, and Laura Bornholdt, *Baltimore and Early Pan-Americanism: A Study in the Background of the Monroe Doctrine* (Northampton, 1949).

[43] Samuel F. Bemis, *The Latin American Policy of the United States* (New York, 1943), 45.

initiation into that " adventurous and violent occupation . . ." [44] took place early in 1816 with the arrival of Thomas Taylor, of Wilmington, Delaware, but late of Buenos Aires. An old hand at privateering, Taylor soon ran afoul of the law, but in September he wrote an associate " I bag leave to inforom you that wat I was A Quased of by the States I have been A Quited and is a perfect Liberty at prasent." [45] Taylor had brought six blank letters of marque authorizing privateers to sail against Spanish commerce under the Buenos Aires flag.[46] Although the haze of illegality obscures the details of the arrangements, this much is known. There was formed in Baltimore a group known as the American Concern. Its membership varied; but Joseph Karrick, Mathew Murray, John G. Johnston, J. Gooding, Samuel Brown, Joseph Patterson, and Skinner participated at the outset and probably to the end.[47] Bland, County Court Judge, James McCulloch, Collector of the Port, the firm of D'Arcy and Didier were well-wishers if not participants. William Pinkney and General William H. Winder served the group as counsel.[48] The Concern's first move was to order constructed the brig *Fourth of July.* In December, 1816, she sailed to Annapolis with a crew of 20, picked up 31 additional hands and armament. At Norfolk the complement was raised to about 100, Thomas Taylor assumed command, the blue and the white was hauled to the masthead, and *El Patriota* sailed on to gather spoils. In all this vessel is known to have made three cruises under four captains, three flags, and four names before her career was terminated by litigation in 1818. The first two cruises were only moderately profitable to Skinner and the other shareholders, but the third outing, under Captain John D. Chase, netted twenty-eight prizes three of which were alone worth $750,000.[49]

[44] Griffin, " Privateering," 2.

[45] Taylor to José M. Carrera, September 6, 1816, Archivo Carrera, Archivo Nacional de Chile, Santiago de Chile (Library of Congress photocopies). Hereinafter cited as ANC.

[46] Griffin, " Privateering," 3; L. W. Bealer, *Los corsarios de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1937), 30; José Luciano Franco, *Politica continental americana de España en Cuba,* 1812-1830 (Habana, 1947), 136; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore, 1811-1849), XV, 103.

[47] Griffin, " Privateering," 6.

[48] Adams, *Memoirs,* IV, 318-319; James B. Scott (ed.), *Prize Cases Decided in the United States Supreme Court* (Oxford, 1923), 1168.

[49] Griffin, " Privateering," 22-24; Franco (*Politica continental,* 152-157) relates in detail the Cuban adventures of *El Patriota.*

Other activities and profits of the Concern have joined the oblivion of success or await historical discovery. But the company was associated with many Baltimore merchant houses in ridding the West Indian and Spanish waters of Ferdinand VII's merchantmen, as there is evidence "of an interlocking directorate that made all privateering interests of the city a closely knit business group." [50] During the "silver" years of 1816-1819 a total of 21 vessels "were formally accused . . . of having been illegally outfitted at Baltimore." . . . "The damage relative to the total tonnage of Spanish merchant ships," writes the leading authority on privateering, "must have been much greater than that done by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers to United States shipping." [51] Spain protested violently; the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle condemned the practice; Congress passed neutrality laws in 1817 and 1818—one of which John Randolph termed a bill to make peace between Baltimore and Spain.[52] Foreign protests and new laws proved of small interest to the Marylanders. The press, the courts, the judge, and the popularity of the Latin American cause were their allies.

Skinner invaded the legal arena, using the press as his weapon to defend the practice of privateering. In so doing he, like Thomas Taylor and many another, was "confiding very securely in the disposition of . . . [the] government to wink at all support given to the cause of the Patriots." [53] Early in 1818, using the pseudonym "Franklin," Skinner issued a blast against the indictments for privateering handed out in 1817. Subsequently published in the *National Intelligencer,* his article stated that "any judge who should presume to condemn the privateersmen under South American colors could not expect to exist long, either as a judge, or as a man. . . ." [54] This threat was dispatched to District Court Judge Houston shortly before he opened court.[55] Later that year Skinner himself was indicted when it was revealed that he was a part owner of the *Fourth of July.* "That a private

[50] Griffin, "Privateering," 6.
[51] *Ibid.,* 8, 9.
[52] Lockey, *Pan-Americanism,* 174; *Annals of Congress,* 14th Cong. 2nd Sess., 732.
[53] William Wirt to James Monroe, July 30, 1816, William Wirt Letter Books (Library of Congress).
[54] Adams, *Memoirs,* IV, 186, 319; Henry M. Brackenridge, *Voyage to Buenos Ayres, performed in the years 1817 and 1818* . . . (Baltimore, 1819), *ii.*
[55] Adams, *Memoirs,* IV, 317.

should threaten to murder a judge," the Secretary of State wrote in his diary, " is not very surprising." [56] Skinner's acquittal was technically owed to flaws in the District Attorney's bill of indictment, but the main reason was grounded in the fact that " the political corruption of Baltimore . . . [was] as rotten as corruption can make it." [57] The " abomination " of privateering affected virtually every federal official in the area. Glenn, the District Attorney, had a son said to be involved with the privateers; McCulloch, the port collector, was " only an enthusiast for the South Americans . . . but . . . [thought] all other men as honest as himself." The local Inspector of Revenue habitually received presents from principal importers, while Gabriel Duval, the Circuit Court Judge, was a feeble individual " over whom William Pinkney . . . the dictator of the Maryland bar . . ." domineered " like a slave-driver over his negroes." Lesser personalities refused to testify publicly. Even President Monroe was only " somewhat concerned " about the situation, leaving Adams, in fear of losing his precious Florida, to bleat of the depredations of the Baltimore clippers.[58]

With the appointment of Bland as Federal district judge in November, 1819, Skinner and his associates were assured of a friend in court.[59] Yet Bland vigorously denied that he had associated with Thomas Taylor and had met with him and others at Skinner's to discuss their investments. In fact, the father-in-law, in his bid for the federal cloak, stated " he had always disapproved of the Baltimore privateering, and had deeply regretted that his kinsman, Mr. Skinner, was accused of being concerned in them." [60] Monroe and Adams agreed that Bland was innocent of any sea venturing.[61] But Mr. Skinner was concerned and deeply so, and when the occasion demanded he went so far as to write Monroe on behalf of American sea captains under suspicion of piracy.[62] That the President was sympathetic to the Baltimore postmaster is seen in his refusal to dismiss him, as demanded by the French minister, because of Skinner's public toast on July 4,

[56] *Ibid.*, 186.
[57] *Ibid.*, 319.
[58] *Ibid.*, 319, 413.
[59] Appointment and Confirmation, Bland Papers.
[60] Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 413-414, 417.
[61] Monroe to Adams, August 22, 1819, Bland Papers.
[62] January 13, 1817, James Monroe Papers (Library of Congress).

1816, declaring the French monarch an imbecile and praising the exiled French generals.[63] A combination of widely scattered events brought to a gradual end this participation of merchants and some 3,000 American seamen in the Latin American revolt for freedom. By 1821 Spanish vessels were hard to find; the new republics possessed navies; and the United States Congress had made piracy a capital crime. Then, too, normal channels of commerce again provided a more enduring outlet for American capital. Privateering, moreover, was turning to piracy necessitating naval operations to rid the Iberian and Caribbean waters of the last Bluebeards. Last, but not least, United States *de jure* recognition—long sought by the very agents who brought the privateering commissions—was in the offing, making these agents reluctant to continue a practice which the Secretary of State frowned upon.

Privateering was but one activity of the Baltimoreans on behalf of the cause of freedom. Aiding and financing promising agents and generals from Spanish America was more than a pastime. The future editor was among that interested group and through his participation gained a certain degree of immortality in Chilean history. This aspect of Skinner's inter-American interest began in 1816 with the arrival of José Miguel Carrera, former Chilean President, associate of Joel R. Poinsett, and apparently agent from Chile and Buenos Aires to the United States. For eleven months the Chilean pleaded for arms, munitions, men, and money. But from New York, in July, he confessed, "I am getting no where with my objectives: many promises but no fulfillment, many desires to get rich, but none of activity."[64] Only in Maryland did he achieve success. The firm D'Arcy and Didier equipped a small expedition, while Carrera, aided by Skinner, found recruits. His efforts received good press notices and men like David Porter and Baptiste Irvine wrote of the greatness of Chile and her leaders.[65]

[63] Monroe to Albert Gallatin, September, 1816, S. M. Hamilton (ed.), *The Writings of James Monroe* . . . (New York, 1902), V, 387; Baltimore *American*, July 6, 1816.

[64] Carrera to J. R. Poinsett, 20 de Julio, 1816, Joel R. Poinsett Papers (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

[65] William M. Collier and Guillermo Feliú Cruz, *La primera misión de los Estados Unidos de América en Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1926), 215-249; Miguel Varas Velázquez, "Don José Miguel Carrera en Estados Unidos," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, III (1912), 5-33; IV (1913), 5-44; Bornholdt, *Baltimore*, 57-70.

Money, especially personal funds, escaped him. Early in November, Skinner came to his relief. On the fourth of that month he loaned Carrera $600. Three days later the Chilean recorded in his diary that Skinner was willing to grant him $4,000 at one hundred per cent interest payable in one year—a statement that Skinner was to reverse in 1818 by claiming that Carrera suggested the interest rate himself.[66] On November 8, Carrera received an additional $1,400,[67] and on the twenty-fourth sent a letter and a receipt to Skinner acknowledging the loan of $4,000 " in paper money of Baltimore for which I will pay in *pesos fuertes* with interest of 100 per cent within one year from this date." This debt was to take precedence over all others. In the covering letter Skinner was assured that the Chilean government (then nonexistent) would take care of the repayment and that the letter presented to the government or to his family would be sufficient to collect the $8,000.[68]

Skinner's dealings with Chile and the *chilenos* did not end with this transaction. The $4,000 gain or loss furthered his " ardent admiration " for the region of which he had read in Washington Irving's translation of the Abbé Molina's *History of Chile*.[69] When news reached Baltimore that the Carrera expedition of three vessels and sixty-nine American and assorted volunteers had come to an end at Buenos Aires, Skinner's admiration for Chile lessened while his worries increased. San Martín and O'Higgins were masters in Chile, and Carrera was no friend to O'Higgins. Thus, displaying a sound knowledge of Spanish character, Skinner wrote his Chilean hero that it greatly distressed him to mention his small service but the loss of the money would be a blow to his family as it constituted a considerable part of his capital.

But as your loss, [Skinner continued], could only have resulted in an inevitable personal misfortune I give you my word as a true friend that in

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[66] Varas Velázquez, " Carrera," IV, 38; J. S. Skinner to the Supreme Director of the United States Provinces of the Río de la Plata, June 5, 1818, Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires), Sección Gobierno, Estados Unidos, Sala 1, Armario 2, Anaquel 4 (Library of Congress photocopies); hereinafter cited as AGN:BA.

[67] Varas Velázquez, " Carrera," IV, 38.

[68] Letter and receipt are reproduced in Collier and Feliú Cruz, *La primera misión,* 234-235 and in Benjamin Vicuña MacKenna, *El ostracisimo de los Carrera* (Valpariso, 1860), Vol. IX of *Obras completas* (Santiago, 1938), IX, 428.

[69] Collier and Feliú Cruz, *La primera misión,* 223.

such a case I would feel the defeat of the cause more than that of the money. Irregardless, for me, the memory will always be a source of true satisfaction, that my small services have been consecrated to a foreign patriot, who, from the first moment inspired in me an unlimited confidence and friendship and to a cause that merits the happiest of conclusions.

In conclusion, he asked only for the return of the principal.[70]

[70] This letter and many other entreaties are preserved in the Archivo Nacional de

From another source it appears that Skinner's only request of Carrera was for a poncho which he believed to be more beautiful than the coat of mail worn by the warriors of old.[71] But Carrera was to supply neither poncho nor money. His arms and munitions were taken from him in Buenos Aires; his men joined the army of San Martín. He escaped to Uruguay, schemed against O'Higgins, became involved in the internal affairs of Argentina, and was taken prisoner there and executed in 1821.[72]

The ill-luck of Carrera coupled with a zeal to promote any nascent cause stimulated Skinner's further indulgence in the practice that was gradually to become his major occupation. Writing came naturally to him and, convinced of the desirability of Latin American freedom and supplied with information from newly arrived agents, he produced a series of articles that were to have nation-wide repercussions. Ever doubting and on this occasion misinformed, Adams attributed the outburst solely to the Carrera loan. "This private speculation," he recorded, "was the source of all the artificial excitement stirred up in the newspapers during the autumn and winter of 1817." [73] But Skinner's initial offering was devoted to the defense of Carrera "against the foul asperions of [Dauxion] Lavaysee. . . ." In this he was aided by David Porter, although the latter claimed that he had "started this host of writers in favor of our taking a decided stand in the affairs of S America." [74] Jean François Dauxion-Lavaysee had accompanied Carrera with the rank of general, and in a letter in English to Skinner and another in French to the editor of the *L'Abeille Américaine*—organ of the Napoleonic exiles in the United States—vilified Carrera for having sold materiél of war for

Chile; this particular letter is reproduced in part in Collier and Feliú Cruz, *La primera misión,* 235-236.

[71] Vicuña MacKenna, *El ostracsimo,* 73.

[72] Luis Galdames, *A History of Chile.* Translated and edited by Isaac J. Cox (Chapel Hill, 1941), 206-221, 460.

[73] *Memoirs,* V, 56.

[74] Porter to J. R. Poinsett, October 23, 1817. Poinsett Papers.

personal profit in Buenos Aires and generally deserting his own cause.[75] Skinner's next move was a series of letters addressed to Henry Clay, the great congressional champion of Latin American independence, and signed "Lautaro" after the Chilean Indian hero of conquest days. Skinner as Lautaro,[76] in his early writings of 1817, confined himself to Chile, for that country was believed to be better disposed toward the United States and possessed of a more stable government.[77] In general, he posed questions such as "What course should the United States pursue, with regard to the present struggle for independence in South America?" and provided answers, many of them repetitious and all praising the future of Chile, thereby questioning the work of San Martín and O'Higgins in that area. As Buenos Aires was dominated by Great Britain, that government should be viewed with caution was still another theme of the seven Skinner Lautaro letters which were first published in the Richmond *Enquirer*—the paper that influenced Monroe—[78] and reprinted in the Baltimore *Patriot* and many another newspaper and periodical.[79] Lautaro and his friends Porter and Baptiste Irvine, of course, were not alone in their public pleas respecting the policy of the United States toward Chile and Buenos Aires; nor were their writings always accepted as gospel.[80] The message that they carried—they "created a sensation in South America"[81]—resulted in the "affairs of South America . . . [becoming] a matter of debate both in the councils of the administration and in the halls of Congress."[82] From this debate came the presidential decision to dispatch an investigating commission to Buenos Aires. One of its members was Skinner's father-in-law, who, believing that "Chile in itself . . . was of

[75] The two letters are located in ANC.

[76] "Mr. Skinner post master in Baltimore is the author of Lautaro as he is also of many other publications on the same subject." Porter to Poinsett, October 23, 1817, Poinsett Papers.

[77] Baltimore *Patriot,* September 24, 1817; Skinner's Lautaro letters are briefed in Bornholdt, *Baltimore,* 74-76.

[78] Adams, *Memoirs,* IV, 117; V, 56.

[79] Baltimore *Patriot,* September 24, 26, 27, October 3, 8, 10, 17, 1817, and see Adams, *Memoirs,* V, 56, and Arthur P. Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America* (Baltimore, 1941), 165-166

[80] Charles C. Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822* (New York, 1937), 157-159, lists a representative group of newspapers and writers who agreed with and argued against the Lautaro theses.

[81] Whitaker, *United States,* 162.

[82] Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826* (Cambridge, 1932), 42-43.

678969

more consequence than Buenos Ayres . . .," was authorized to visit that country as well.[83]

Whatever the motives of the Monroe administration in sending, at considerable cost and with much fanfare,[84] four citizens to a region torn by civil war, it is clear that one of Bland's reasons for accepting was the hope of collecting the $4,000 owed his son-in-law. He was authorized and did indeed act as " the private agent of Skinner . . ." [85] and made persistent efforts to collect the debt. The commission left Norfolk early in December, 1817, and upon arrival in Buenos Aires Bland petitioned Juan Martín de Pueyrredón, Supreme Director of the United Provinces of the La Plata, for payment of the loan to Carrera. Bland's appeal of April 4, 1817, was made " in behalf and as attorney in fact . . ." of Skinner and reviewed the successful efforts of Carrera to equip an expedition, emphasizing that Skinner was " not engaged in, nor in any manner connected with commercial affairs. . . ." But the postmaster was in Bland's words, " solely and exclusively activated by his ardent and zealous wishes for the success of the Patriot cause [hence] he advanced . . . the sum of four thousand dollars for the purpose of defraying the incidental expenses of the outfit of the ship, and of certain officers who embarked with Mr. Carrera. . . ." As the Buenos Aires government had seized the principal vessel and the volunteers had gone into the Buenos Aires army Bland reasoned that the Pueyrredón government had been " directly, willingly, and very essentially benefited by the money advanced by Mr. Skinner. . . ." [86] Twelve days later he was informed that, as Skinner had applied to the government of Chile for repayment and as General San Martín had offered to mediate the matter, the Buenos Aires government could not act on the petition.[87] During the interim Bland prevailed upon his brother commissioners, Cesar Rodney and John Graham, to make a joint plea for the payment of the debt.[88] Two months later Skinner himself addressed the Buenos Aires Director. He humbly confessed that he really did not wish to mention the matter. " But my very

[83] Bland to [Monroe] November 15, 1817, Bland Papers.
[84] Watt Stewart, " The South American Commission, 1817-1818," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, IX (1929), 31-59.
[85] Adams, *Memoirs*, 56; Skinner to Servando Jordan, ANC.
[86] April 4, 1818, AGN:BA.
[87] [Pueyrredón] to Bland, April 16, 1818, *ibid.*
[88] April 12, 1818, *ibid.*

limited, and I may *now* add *reduced* circumstances, will not permit me, in justice to my Family to relinquish that which may hereafter be necessary for their substance. . . ." Trusting that Pueyrredón would " make the proper representation to the Congress . . ." he concluded " you will readily appreciate the motives which ought to induce my indemnification from loss in this case with sentiments of the highest consideration and respect." [89] The same day, General William Winder, then under consideration for the position of Buenos Aires representative in the United States, also wrote the Director suggesting that " it would be politic and wise to accede to his claim. . . . I feel well satisfied," the loser at Bladensburg confessed, " that Mr. Skinner is strongly attached to your cause and that he has it in his power and in his inclination to render you very important services." [90]

Bland, the only member of the commission authorized to go to Chile, parted company with his colleagues in fact-finding and set out ostensibly to examine conditions in that newly-freed republic. Upon his arrival in Santiago in May, 1818,[91] he conversed officially with O'Higgins on five occasions and on dining socially with him in a house formerly owned by Carrera, O'Higgins, Bland recorded in his diary, remarked that the Carreras

were enemies of their country and no republicans; they were men whom I hated; they were bad men, but I understand that an American Mr. Skinner had lent one of them four or five thousand dollars; that money [O'Higgins continued] ought to be paid for I have heard much of the character of Mr. Skinner and his very ardent friendship towards our Country and the patriot cause, insomuch so that I love him in my heart although I have never had the honor to see [him]; here is property enough to pay that debt and I will order it to be sold for that purpose—it was a private debt which the property of the Carreras ought to pay, which they themselves ought to have paid, but as the money was lent to them under an impression that they had the authority of this country to borrow, it shall be considered as a public debt and if their property be not sufficient the balance shall be paid out of the public treasury. They have deceived a worthy and honorable individual by using the name of the nation; the nation ought therefore to pay the debt and not such [an] individual suffer —but said . . . [O'Higgins] there is no person that I know of authorized to receive payment. . . . [92]

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[89] June 5, 1818, *ibid.*
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] Bland Diary, Bland Papers. The Diary is not dated.
[92] *Ibid.*

Bland, delighted with all the Director had said, replied that both he and Ricardo de Baughan had the power of attorney but that he, as an official representative of the United States government, would prefer that Baughan handle the matter. Of the merit of the claim, Bland told the Director, there was no doubt for

> it was personally and well known to me that the Patriot cause in general and Chile in particular had not a warmer, a more decided or active friend in all the U. S. than Mr. Skinner. . . . He had not only gone to the utmost extent of his pecuniary ability in lending, in this case, but he knowing of what the laws of his country would allow put all to hazard. It is sir [Bland revealed] well known that it is enough for a man to go into Mr. Skinner's house and call himself a South American Patriot to find welcome and assistance.

Whereupon, O'Higgins interrupted saying " Sir, . . . you need say no more. I know it. I have been well informed of the character of Skinner. I love and respect that man. The debt ought to be paid and it shall be paid as you shall see. It may be it cannot be done in a day but it shall be done in a month." A few days later Bland and Baughan visited the Director, presented the Carrera note, and their powers of attorney. His ardour having cooled somewhat, O'Higgins denied that the government was liable as Carrera had had no right to act in the name of the government of Chile. He reiterated his statement that if " Carrera has property enough then it shall be paid . . ." and requested a full representation of the claim. Bland drafted this, and had it translated and presented to O'Higgins prior to his departure from Chile on July 10, 1818.[93] The Director also requested another visiting American to write Skinner direct for further information respecting his claim.[94]

The vacillation of the O'Higgins government in the payment of the claim prompted Skinner to continue his pen pleading on behalf of Carrera in the United States press. This personal feeling, combined with the attack on his father-in-law by Rodney and H. M. Brackenridge, Secretary of the Commission, prompted Skinner's first investment in publishing. In August, 1818, he provided the funds for the initiation of the Maryland *Censor*.[95]

[93] *Ibid;* Bland to O'Higgins, n. d., ANC: Varios, Vol. 128; Eugenio Pereira Salas, " La misión Bland en Chile," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía,* LXXVII (1935), 80-113.

[94] Entry dated April 20, 1818, Private Diary of W. G. D. Worthington (Library of Congress).

[95] The paper was edited and published by William Redding, Skinner's subsequent

Its six months' existence reflected Skinner's dual interest—Carrera and agriculture. The paper was headed by William Redding, Skinner's subsequent assistant on the *American Farmer,* and advocated caution in recognizing the government in Buenos Aires, ponting out that Chile had a greater future potential, while the La Platan leaders were close followers of Britain. Apparently Skinner sought to delay the recognition of any southern South American regime until such time as he received his money or until Carrera might return to power in Chile.[96] In January, 1819, the *Censor* closed its doors. Skinner, beyond doubt, had received news that Baughan was about to collect, for O'Higgins had issued a decree ordering the father of Carrera to make payment in full. In July, 1818, 500 *vacas* and 300 *cabezas de ganado* were seized, and by March, 1819, the principal and interest were paid.[97] The Skinner-Carrera episode thus closed in fact but not in history, for many historians of Chile have heaped praises on this generous friend of Chile's most mistreated revolutionary hero.[98]

Prior to Bland's departure for South America, when privateering undertakings were at their height, Skinner became acquainted with the self-styled General Sir Gregor McGregor. In so doing the postmaster was to render his government a service. McGregor, military-trained in the Peninsular wars but late of Venezuela where he had fought on after Bolívar had departed, had, for reasons still confounding the historians who dabble in filibustering history of the 1810's, decided to free Florida from Spanish control and turn it over to the United States. He secured authorization for this undertaking from three Latin American agents representing four countries. Recruiting for money, men, and munitions was begun in New York and ended in Baltimore.[99] There, the Scot revealed his great plan to Skinner, extracting from him a solemn promise that in due time Skinner should inform his government of the exact nature of the Amelia Island episode.[100] Subsequently,

employee on the *American Farmer* (W. F. Redding to David Porter, Porter Papers). J. R. Poinsett referred to the *Censor* as "Mr. Skinner's Ploughboy a shortime previous to his changing its title" (Poinsett to B. Irvine, June 18, 1822, Porter Papers).

[96] Bornholdt, *Baltimore,* 97-99.

[97] Pereira Salas, "La mision Bland," 101.

[98] Collier and Feliú Cruz, *La primera misión,* 233-234; Vicuña Mackenna, *El ostracisimo.*

[99] Harold A. Bierck, *Vida pública de don Pedro Gual* (Caracas, 1947), 139-150.

[100] Skinner to Secretary of State, July 30, 1817, D. S.: Misc.

McGregor seized the city of Fernandina on the Island, created the Republic of Florida, opened a prize court, and made plans for the conquest of the mainland. In July, 1817, he wrote Skinner reminding him of his promise: "I have therefore now to request that you will do me the favor you promised me at Baltimore, that is to communicate to your government my views in taking possession of this place." [101] The man O'Higgins loved promptly and gladly obliged by writing the Secretary of State on July 30. He reviewed his meeting with McGregor "sometime past" the day after the Scot had arrived in Baltimore, related the "Daily visits for two months" during which funds had been solicited, and the objectives of the expedition: 1. to take possession of Amelia Island as a prelude to the seizure of all Florida; 2. to form a constitution and to encourage the people to declare for the United States; and 3. to collect supplies for the South American independence movement.[102] Skinner, therefore, and not others, as has been claimed, set in motion the cabinet discussion that led to the destruction of the Florida Republic by United States naval forces in December, 1817.[103]

Skinner, on learning of the fate of the colony wrote, "I was always convinced that enterprize against Florida must fail from a total want of *means and experience*. . . ." [104] The onus of failure, however, did not fall upon McGregor. He and his Venezuelan wife had left Fernandina, turning its control over to Luis Aury, privateer extraordinary. From Nassau, New Providence Island, late in December, 1817, the General wrote Skinner, "I have endeavored again to realize the plans, we have so often thought and talked of; I trust the persons I have employed will not disgrace the cause of S. America,—you know my objects! and I am afraid I am unjustly blamed for the actions of those that have come after me." [105] Skinner judged correctly. Experience was definitely lacking in the Amelia episode and the Baltimore group of patriot adherents did little to support that undertaking. Their

[101] *Ibid.*
[102] *Ibid.*
[103] Whitaker (*United States,* p. 237, n. 22) endeavors to correct Griffin (*United States,* III) by claiming that William Thorton and not McGregor himself was the first to inform the government of McGregor's true intentions. In truth, it was Skinner.
[104] Skinner to General Mason, March 20, 1818, DS: Misc.
[105] December 27, 1817, *ibid.*

backing of Carrera and of the ill-fated Mina Expedition to Mexico drove home the lesson that commercial privileges could best be sought in normal trade competition. As privateering waned commerce grew; the friendship displayed during the days of non-recognition was repaid many times over during the glorious exporting years 1821-1828. For those, and Skinner was foremost among them, who had talked and read about South America, there developed the realization that the area had much to offer the United States. From this conviction and knowledge stemmed Skinner's continued interest in the new nations—an interest which he clearly revealed in his third private enterprise—the *American Farmer;* an interest that marks him one of the first inter-Americanists.

(*To be concluded in the June number*)

WEBLEY, OR MARY'S DELIGHT, BAY HUNDRED, TALBOT COUNTY

By Sara Seth Clark and Raymond B. Clark, Jr.

MORE often referred to as "Mary's Delight" by the residents of Bay Hundred District of Talbot County, "Webley" has for many years commanded an unsurpassed view of Chesapeake and Eastern bays. It is one of the best known landmarks in Bayside. Built upon a low bluff, its beautiful lawns slope down to the water. It is possible to see the outlines of the Western Shore. All kinds of ships are to be seen on their passage up and down the Chesapeake, to and from Baltimore and other ports. The channel is very near the Eastern Shore at this point making it an even better vantage point from which to see the sea-going vessels.

Located on the road which leads from McDaniel to Tilghman and about a mile from Wittman, Webley is reached by a paved driveway of approximately a mile. The handsome brick gates flanked by attractive shrubbery enhance the entrance. The avenue of tall Lombardy poplars, interspersed with pines, for three decades a distinguishing mark of the estate, permits a view of the house. Quite near the mansion the road divides and forms a circle on the lawn at the eastern entrance. When approached from the road the house presents the view of a typical fine country house placed in a setting of trees and lawn. The façade is that of a five-part home. The central wing, with its two connecting links and wings, is indicative of the symmetrically balanced home found in 18th century Maryland houses. While only the massive central portion of the original house is still standing today, (accounts indicate that the kitchen and wing did exist) the comparatively recent additions of the wings and connecting passages were erected with so much taste that it would not be at all difficult to believe that the whole mansion was built at the same time. In this

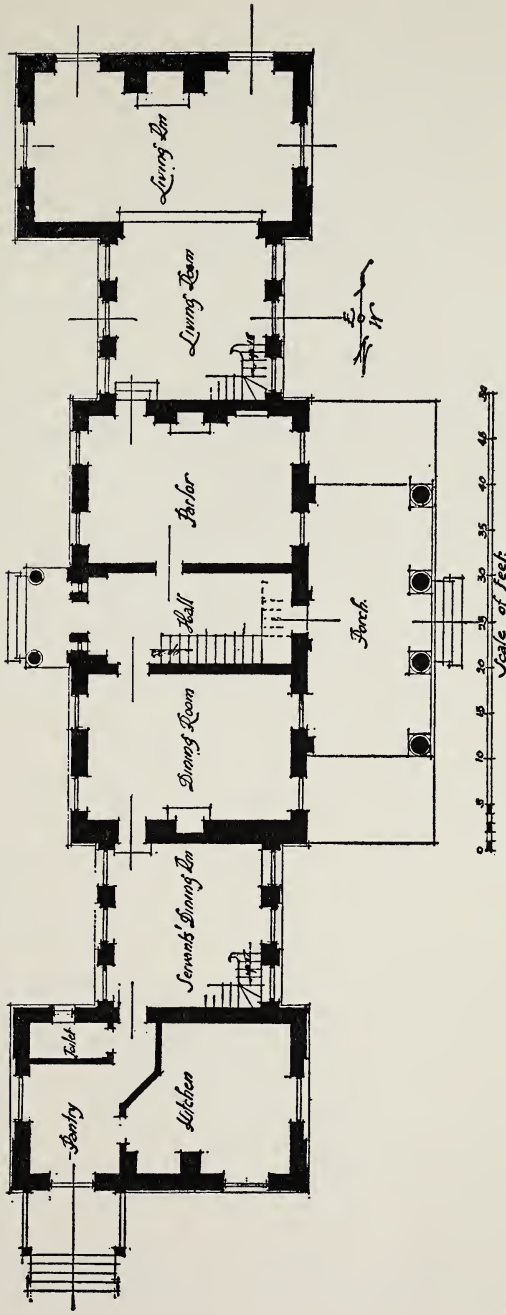
respect Webley can be compared to Whitehall, the famous estate of Maryland's colonial governor, Horatio Sharpe, which is almost directly opposite it, across the Bay above Annapolis.

This brick house has many interesting features. The eastern or entrance façade projects slightly from the rest of the house. The doorway, with its two small side lights and transom, is framed by columns and has a well-proportioned pedimented cornice which is repeated below the roof and at the gable ends of the house. The shuttered windows have stone architraves. The heads of the two dormers are semi-circular. Although ivy now conceals most of the belt course, parts of it can be plainly seen. On the western side of the house facing the Bay there is an attractive two story portico, in the pediment of which there is a semi-circular window.

The front door opens into a spacious central hall. From it one can look directly through the door opposite to a marvelous view of the Bay. Doors on each side lead to the library and to the dining room. A handsome stair, to the right, rises to the third floor. Its light balustrade with walnut handrail starts from a finely turned newel. A low paneled wainscot runs along the wall side of the stair. The soffit is finished with unpaneled sheathing. A conventional carved scroll ornaments the ends of the steps. The flights are broken by two landings between the first and second floors and by one between the second and third

The library, to the left of the entrance, extends through the entire depth of the old portion of the house. It has four windows, two at each end, and a door leads to the drawing room. The ceiling is beamed. A rather heavy wooden cornice is decorated with a Greek fret. The mantel is ornate with a frieze of elaborate design having a medallion in the center and sunken ovals outlined with beading over the fluted columns. The shelf is high and narrow. Paneling flanking the mantel shows hexagonal panels alternating with squares.

The dining room, to the right of the entrance hall, like the library, is a large room running the entire depth of the house and has four windows. There is a cornice and the ceiling is beamed. The mantel features tambour fluted pilasters in a herringbone pattern and a frieze decoration of rosettes, fluting and drapery. Two large bedrooms and bath are on the second floor in the central portion.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF WEBLEY

In the south wing is the drawing room on two levels and a winding stair leading to the south bedrooms on the second floor. The connecting passage off the dining room contains a breakfast room and a stair which leads to the north bedrooms, as well as the kitchen and the servants' quarters.

Webley was patented to Edmund Webb on January 7, 1659, and contained 300 acres.[1] (There is also the record of another tract called Webley, patented August 1, 1673, for 400 acres in Kent County.)[2] The patent of the Talbot County tract called "Webley" was awarded to Edmund Webb and wife for transporting Leonard Daniel and Olive Spooner, dated at London July 7, 1641. The record, as altered, August 26, 1651, reads, "Parcel of land called 'Webley' . . . rent to be paid at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and at the feast of St. Michael and the Arch Angel by equal portions . . . six shillings sterling in silver or gold or in such."[3]

Edmund Webb sold Webley to Edward Lloyd on April 4, 1661, and he on November 14 of the same year, resold the property to William Lewis.[4]

"Sarah's Neck" was the name of the grant of fifty acres which adjoined Webley on the northwest. It was situated on the Chesapeake Bay between Edmund Webb's lands and those owned by William Hatton. This land was an original grant from Cecilius, Second Lord Baltimore, to William Lewis (Lewes) July 2, 1649. It remained on the books until August 21, 1651. The patent was taken out March 19, 1661, in full in 1662, and the final grant was dated July 20, 1668. It is interesting to note here that eight months later, in 1661, William Lewis bought Webley from Edmund Webb.[5] William Lewis and Samuel Winslow deeded Webley and Sarah's Neck to Ralph Fishbourne December 14, 1668.[6]

Edmund Webb received another grant of land called "Bolton" on July 20, 1659. This property was near his other property on the Chesapeake Bay and consisted of 100 acres.[7] He also had

[1] Liber 4, f. 336, Land Office, Annapolis.
[2] Liber 17, f. 430, Land Office, Annapolis.
[3] Talbot County Land Records, Liber R. F. # 12, f. 103.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Liber 5, f. 130 (certificate) and f. 145 (patent). Liber 12, f. 105, is the final grant. Land Office, Annapolis.
[6] Talbot County Land Records, Liber 1, f. 73.
[7] Liber 21, f. 492, Land Office, Annapolis. Also Liber N. S. B., f. 67.

APPROACH FRONT—WEBLEY

Photo H. Robins Hollyday

DETAIL OF ENTRANCE FRONT

another tract "Bolton's Addition" consisting of 50 acres and situated between "Miles End" and Bolton, patented for him on December 20, 1685.[8]

In his will, dated 1685, he devised "Bolton," now containing 150 acres by combining it with Bolton's Addition to his daughter Elizabeth Caemp. He was survived by four children: Elizabeth Caemp, Mary, William, and Edmund Webb, Jr.[9]

Cecilius, Second Lord Baltimore, granted to Thomas Miles, planter, for transporting to Maryland, Weary Cobden, Sarah Rayman, Susan Everett, and William Golfull, a parcel of land called "Miles End" consisting of 400 acres on January 7, 1659.[10] This tract was situated on the Chesapeake Bay and adjoined the land of Edmund Webb. Thomas Miles and his wife Margaret deeded this land to Thomas Ford on November 8, 1660. Thomas and Elizabeth Ford very quickly sold the property to John Shaw and heirs. John Shaw and his heirs sold it to Edmund Webb and Dennis Shores on April 10, 1611.[11] Edmund Webb sold a part of Miles End (land bought from John Shaw "for valuable consideration in hand received") to Robert Fuller, November, 1665.[12]

Robert Fuller and wife deed 150 acres of land of a patent called Miles End to Ralph Fishbourne, (from Chester, Pennsylvania) December 4, 1670.[13] Fishbourne requests the tract, consisting of a part of Miles End, which he had recently purchased from Robert Fuller, be deeded back to him. This was recorded on April 19, 1671.[14] Robert Fuller deeds this same tract to Fishbourne again on September 9, 1671,[15] for five hundred pounds of tobacco.[16] All through these deeds are references to the "said Webb's *now* dwelling plantation." This would seem to indicate that Edmund Webb lived on a part of the Miles End tract nearest his first grant Webley which he had sold to Edward Lloyd. This part of the Miles End tract, not purchased by Fuller and Fishbourne and Cooper was included in the resurvey of

[8] Liber 22, f. 173, Land Office, Annapolis.
[9] Talbot County Wills, Box 24, folder 5, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[10] Liber 4, f. 233, Land Office, Annapolis.
[11] Talbot County Land Records, Liber, R. F. # 12, f. 108.
[12] Document torn over date of month and day. *Ibid.*, Liber 1, f. 8.
[13] *Ibid.*, Liber 1, f. 7.
[14] *Ibid.*, f. 153.
[15] *Ibid.*, f. 180.
[16] *Ibid.*, f. 272. Sold November 18, 1673 to John Cooper for £ 6,000 of tobacco.

Webley by John Kersey in 1806. These other properties adjoining Webley are mentioned in detail because, in 1806, they were incorporated in the resurvey and the whole named "Mary's Delight."

William Fishbourne (probably the son of Ralph Fishbourne) sold Webley containing 300 acres and Sarah's Neck containing 50 acres to Francis Bullock for 600 barrels of Indian corn. Payment was to be divided into seven annual payments. Benjamin Ball acted as attorney for Fishbourne, a Philadelphia merchant. The agreement was recorded October 16, 1708.[17] On November 1, 1712, Francis Bullock devised a patent on Webley.[18]

Francis Bullock's will, probated in 1721 in Talbot County, left property to his three sons-in-law, William Kersey, Robert Fuller, and John Kersey. To the latter he devised his dwelling plantation after the death of his wife, also personalty. The property involved was Webley and Sarah's Neck. The other heirs received lands in Queen Anne and Dorchester Counties. His wife, Martha Bullock, renounced her right to administer on the estate in favor of her son-in-law, John Kersey.[19]

Following the same pattern as his father-in-law, John Kersey on September 16, 1721, bought Webley and Sarah's Neck from William and Hannah Fishbourne, of Philadelphia, merchants, for 141 pounds, eighteen shillings, and nine pence. It is assumed that it was necessary for John Kersey to underwrite the financial obligations of his father-in-law to the Fishbournes in order to own the property.[20]

John Kersey did not live long to enjoy his newly-acquired property. He died in 1727. In his will, dated January 11th, he left his property of Webley and Sarah's Neck to his son, Francis Kersey and his heirs. His wife, Jane, who later married Solloman Horney, and his daughter Mary were also mentioned.[21] John Kersey's wife Jane, was probably the daughter of William Robson of Dorchester County, whose will mentioned his daughter Jane Kersey. The will was probated in 1729.[22] According to the will of John Dickinson, of Talbot County, probated in 1718, in which he leaves to his

[17] *Ibid.*, Liber R. F. # 11, ff. 63-65.
[18] Provincial Court Judgments, Liber A. # 1, f. 70, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[19] Talbot County Wills, Box 2, folders 48 and 53, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[20] Talbot County Land Records, Liber P. F. # 13, ff. 378-382.
[21] Talbot County Wills, Liber H. B. # 2, f. 49.
[22] Maryland Calendar of Wills (Baltimore, 1904-1928), VI, 143.

daughter, Mary Kersey, silver marked "M" "D,"[23] there is the assumption that she may have been John Kersey's wife, and certainly he had a wife named Bullock.

Francis Kersey, son of John Kersey, was a minor at the death of his father as is evidenced by the document which names William Webb Haddaway as his guardian, which passed the court of Talbot County in 1734. John Leeds, one of the Justices of the Peace for Talbot County, appointed Thomas Smith and Daniel Lambdin to appraise the plantation of the late John Kersey on behalf of his orphan son including all improvements. They were to make a report of the conditions of the estate to the court. The report made May 5, 1735, by Smith and Lambdin, after being qualified to do so by John Leeds is as follows:

> One large dwelling house with several rooms smooth work in indifferent repair; one logged kitchen 20 feet long, 16 feet wide in good repair. One milk house 15 feet long, 10 feet wide in indifferent repair. One barn 40 feet long, 20 feet wide with two plank floors—wants covering—two forty foot tobacco houses 20 feet wide much out of repair—two old corn houses and three old outhouses—very old and not worth repairing. One 15 foot hen house and garden 50 feet square—paled in. One orchard containing about 100 apple trees—the fence upon the said plantation being chiefly old yet in tenant order and, according to the best of our knowledge, we do value the said plantation at the rate of eight hundred pounds of merchantable tobacco which the said guardian shall be accountable to the said orphan for the further the said guardian shall pay and discharge my lord's quit rent yearly, and keep the houses that can be repaired, orchards and other improvements in good repair during his said guardianship and at the expiration of his guardianship shall surrender to ye said orphan ye said plantation and in tenantable order to the same we have affixed our hands and seals the day and year before mentioned."
>
> [Signed:] THOMAS SMITH
> DANIEL LAMBDIN.[24]

Another report filed by the appraisers gives additional material on the Webley and Sarah's Neck property. It was filed on July 1, 1734. Thomas Smith and Daniel Lambdin met with John Leeds, the Justice of the Peace by appointment at Webley to determine the amount of the annual rent of the plantation and to make a statement as to the condition of the improvements. They reported as follows:

[23] *Ibid.*, IV, 156.
[24] Talbot County Land Records, Liber T. B. # 14, f. 84.

One dwelling house with two rooms 40 feet long and 15 feet wide and a Back Building about 30 feet long.
One Milk House 10 feet square.
One Hen House 15 feet long—10 feet wide.
One Tobacco House 40 feet long and 20 feet wide.
An Old Tobacco House 40 feet long and 20 feet wide.
Garden about 50 feet square much out of repair.
. . . the houses upon ye said plantation want repairing.

John Cassaway was the guardian for Francis Kersey and like William Webb Haddaway was responsible for payment of the 800 pounds of tobacco and the land rents to the "Lordship" and to leave the plantation in good repair and the fences in good tenantable order.[25]

The certificate signed May 5, 1735, indicated that a guardian was to be appointed and two appraisers to make annual valuation of the lands and of the improvements of the estate of the orphan.

Francis Kersey married three times. First on April 20, 1750, to Elizabeth Lambdin.[26] In 1752 there is proof that his wife was Sarah Lambdin, daughter of Daniel Lambdin.[27] In his will, written March 15, 1762, and probated June 6, 1765, Francis Kersey mentions his third wife, Margaret. He left his property to his son, John Kersey. If this son died without heirs the property was to go to his daughter Mary.[28]

John Kersey was a gentleman and a scholar. After the death of his first wife he married Mary Lambdin Dawson, daughter of Impey Dawson.[29] By her he had four daughters. Ann Dawson Kersey married William Haddaway, Mary Impey Kersey married Thomas I. Sherwood, Elizabeth L. Kersey married Absolom Thompson, and Martha Banning Kersey married Anthony C. Thompson.

Kersey induced Theophilus R. Gates, an educator to come to Talbot County to teach a group of children in 1807. Gates first boarded at Webley while he was teaching. He wrote to Elihu R. Paine, May 9, 1807, that he had been in Baltimore a few days ago and while there had agreed to stay with Kersey one year

[25] *Ibid.*, f. 352.
[26] St. Peter's Parish Records, Maryland Historical Society.
[27] Balance Book, Liber 1, p. 20, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[28] Wills, 33, f. 192, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Margaret Kersey's will is in Talbot County Wills, J. P. # 4, f. 222.
[29] Impey Dawson's will is in Talbot County Wills, J. P. # 4, f. 30. The Dawson Chart, Maryland Historical Society, gives his dates as 1718-1798.

from April 27, 1809, as a tutor.[30] The following interesting account which was written by Gates explains his connection with Kersey and his family:

> Met gentleman from Eastern Shore of Maryland who employed me as a teacher for one quarter. Went down with him on packet. A place was soon provided for me to teach in, and boarded constantly at the house of John Kersey. He sent two daughters to me, was very wealthy and afterwards employed me himself at one hundred pounds a year, to teach at his own place of residence. Mr. Kersey was a man possessed of a feeling heart, and knew how to sympathize with others in their distress. I never saw a man so easily affected at the woes of others, as he was, nor one more ready to administer relief to an unfortunate fellow creature. Though in oppulent circumstances as it respects the things of this world he had known grief by the loss of his first wife, whom he tenderly loved. I believed he regarded me as his own son and I certainly esteemed and loved him as a father; nor shall I this side of the grave (for he is now no more) ever find a man like unto him. Mrs. Kersey also treated me with much kindness and respect.[31]

John Kersey was a judge of the Circuit Court for Talbot County.[32] He was also very active in the formation of the Methodist Church in Bayside. His name appears as a trustee on a deed giving land to the Methodists for a church in St. Michaels in 1781. The land was given by James Braddock " having a pious zeal and peculiar love for the society of people called Methodists " on June 6, 1781, and consisted of half of town lots 36 and 38 fronting on St. Mary's Square. Upon it was built " a good and convenient house, agreeable to the instructions of the people called Methodists, for the public worship of Almighty God, and to and for the said use and purpose, and to no other use, intent or meaning whatever." The other trustees were James Benson, Robert Lambdin, Thomas Harrison, Richard Parrott, Joseph Harrison, Joseph Denny, John Mac Donald, and Daniel Fairbank.[33]

The second Methodist meeting house in the Bayside was erected upon a part of the land called Miles End, purchased from John

[30] *The Trials, Experience, Exercises of Mind and First Travels of Theophilus R. Gates, written by himself.* (Poughkeepsie: Printed by C. C. Adams and Co. for the author, 1810), pp. 77-78.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[32] See Donnell Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage* (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1953).

[33] Talbot County Land Records, Liber R. S. # 21, ff. 229-230. For an excellent description of religion in Bayside see Oswald Tilghman's *History of Talbot County, 1661-1861* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1915), II, 306-309.

Kersey and Mary Lambdin Dawson Kersey for seven shillings and sixpence on May 1, 1804. The deed was made to the following persons as Trustees: John McDaniel, Robert Lambdin Jr., Robert Lambdin, Joseph Hopkins, Robert Colloson, Daniel Lambdin, James McDaniel, and James Haddaway. Kersey was undoubtedly the ninth trustee.[34]

John Kersey died about 1808, intestate. He was survived by his wife, Mary Lambdin Dawson Kersey, who married Thomas L. Frazier of Dorchester County on April 4, 1809. They were married by Rev. Mr. Price.[35]

Kersey had had his properties resurveyed April 9, 1805, and combined them into one tract which he named Mary's Delight. This new plantation included part of Miles End, 171¼ acres; Webley, 259¼ acres; parts of Sarah's Neck and Kersey's Ramble " were within the lines of an " elder survey " of " Wade's Point." Nineteen and a half acres included in this plat were vacant. Some of the land was now under water. The total acreage of Mary's Delight was now 560¼ acres. The new name was chosen because of the very great love one of his daughters had for her home.

A commission was appointed to divide the property following the death of John Kersey.[36] It was made into portions of cleared land and woodland for each heir. Mary L. Frazier, John Kersey's widow, agreed to let her dower part of the estate be divided among her children and that they pay her annual rent for her share of the properties. Ann Dawson Kersey (who had married William Haddaway) inherited lot No. 3 of cleared land and lot No. 3 of woodland, as was described on the plat of the commissioners. She also bought April 8, 1822, lots No. 4 from her sister Mary Impey Kersey who had married Thomas I. Sherwood. Martha Banning Kersey, who married Anthony C. Thompson, received lots No. 2. The fourth daughter, Elizabeth L. Kersey, who later married Dr. Absolom Thompson, received lots No. 1.[37]

Dr. Absolom Thompson purchased the interest in Mary's Delight which came to his brother, Dr. Anthony C. Thompson, through his wife. He also came into possession of another interest through his own wife.[38]

[34] Talbot County Land Records, Liber J. L. # 30, ff. 505-508.
[35] *Easton Star*, October 21, 1829.
[36] Land Commissioner Surveys # 1, Clerk of Court's Office, Easton.
[37] Talbot County Land Records, Liber J. L. # 44, ff. 252-255.
[38] *Ibid.*, Liber J. L. # 51, f. 554. Bond of Conveyance dated July 18, 1826 and April 28, 1835.

Dr. Thompson was a prominent physician who established, about 1830, the first hospital on the Eastern Shore in his home. This was the period when there were few hospitals even in large cities. It was quite a step forward for the Bayside area. Dr. Thompson was therefore a progressive man and not afraid to take the initiative in beginning such a new project. Supposed to have been possessed of extraordinary skill as a surgeon, he performed operations many doctors would not have dared to attempt without his experience. His reputation was more than state-wide. Almost as famous as a surgeon was his profanity, though this characteristic really was a cloak to hide a kindly nature.[39] He is described by one author as appearing to the inhabitants of that locality as a familiar figure making his rounds riding bareback and barefoot on a mule with his kit carrying a jar of calomel, lancet, and syringe with a nozzle like a twelve bore shotgun.[40] This last must have been a great misrepresentation.

There is also the legend that Dr. Thompson's wife conducted a Sunday School at Webley during the time they lived there. The Negroes tell stories about human bones being found in the cellar when Webley was being restored. The granddaughter of Dr. Thompson, (Mrs.) Annie Eliza Thompson Clendon, remembers that many farmers whose property bordered on the Chesapeake Bay kept two graveyards on their estates. One for their families and one for strangers whose bodies were washed ashore. She recalls that her grandparents, Colonel and Mrs. Daniel Lambdin Haddaway, always provided those washed ashore with coffins, decent burial with a minister officiating at the interment.[41] Some of the more superstitious people thought perhaps the bones found in the cellar were the remains of some of Dr. Thompson's patients.

Dr. Thompson made his will September 22, 1842. It was probated October 11 of that same year. To show his peculiar personality the following is quoted from his will:

> I give and bequeath all my estate, real, personal and mixt, of every sort and description, to my dearly beloved son, Absolom Christopher Columbus Americus Vespucius Thompson, provided he shall ever be found alive, who is supposed to be dead, except the legacies hereinafter given.[42]

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[39] Scarborough, Katherine, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930), p. 299; *Easton Star-Democrat*.

[40] Footner, Hulbert, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1944), p. 237.

[41] *Easton Star-Democrat*, August 29, 1925.

[42] Talbot County Wills, Liber J. P. # 9, f. 241.

The Doctor left property near Tilghman's Island to Sarah Catherine Thompson. Each bequest has the phrase "provided that my son shall not return." He left Mary's Delight to his brother Dr. Anthony C. Thompson of St. Michaels, and his nephew Charles J. Thompson at his father's death. Other property on Kent Island was left to Dr. Anthony C. Thompson for his son, Charles J. Thompson, until he reached the age of twenty-six and in Dorchester County for his other sons, Edward D., and Thomas J. until they were twenty-one. The surgeon left provisions that his eight female servants and five male servants serve their respective terms and be set free. He made special provision for his servant Elizabeth More and her two young children. The issue of his female servants were to be free at thirty. The income and the terms of their service were to be equally divided between Mary Ann and Eliza S. Thompson. He mentioned a contract to Tench Tilghman and Page Fox. He left his medical library to Dr. Isaac N. Dixon and his surgical instruments to his brother, who also received the income of the servants for five years and his prize Durham bull.[43]

Absolom C. C. Thompson did return to claim parts of his inheritance. There are references to him in Dorchester County and in Wilmington, Delaware, with his wife Sarah A. Thompson.[44] At one time he taught school near Wittman on the Chesapeake Bay.[45] He borrowed money from Henry Hicks giving "Wolf's Harbour," "Bolton's Addition," and Miles End as securities on the mortgage, in July of 1845.[46] In August he sold part of four tracts—Wolf's Harbour, Miles End, Bolton, and Bolton's Addition, called the Kemp Farm and containing 202 acres—where Dr. Dixon lived, to James A. Stewart.[47]

In 1846-1847 he appealed to the Judges of the Orphan's Court for relief as an insolvent debtor. James Montgomery Seth was appointed trustee for the creditors.[48]

The next owner of Mary's Delight was John H. Lowe. He purchased it and a part of the tract called "Cromwell" at a

[43] *Ibid.*, ff. 242-245.
[44] See account of loans and sale of property which give his address.
[45] Seth, Joseph B., and Mary, *Recollections of a Long Life on the Eastern Shore* (Easton, 1927), p. 19.
[46] Talbot County Land Records, Liber J. P. # 59, ff. 66-68. He borrowed $6,454.50.
[47] *Ibid.*, ff. 95-97.
[48] *Ibid.*, Liber J. P. # 60, f. 297.

public sale in 1845 from Samuel Hambleton, Jr., trustee for the estate of the late Eliza L. Kersey, widow of Dr. Absolom Thompson. A decree of the Court of Chancery of Maryland, July 31, 1843, between John K. Thompson *et al* versus Anthony C. Thompson, Jr., *et al* defendants, authorized Samuel Hambleton Jr., to sell the real estate of the late Eliza L. Kersey. The property was purchased for $4,750.30.[49]

John Hanson Lowe married Mary Seth, daughter of James Montgomery Seth and Louisa Farland Seth, who lived at "Hebron," now called "Langdon."[50] The Webley property remained in the possession of the Lowe Family for approximately eighty years. In 1924 (Mrs.) Blanche L. Butler and (Mrs.) Louisa S. Ensey, who had inherited the estate from their mother sold Webley to Mrs. Harold Walker of Washington, D. C. who added adjacent property to the tract,[51] and oddly, this property consisted of much of what was contained in the resurvey of "Mary's Delight." The late Arthur Blakeslee, A.I.A., added quite tastefully the wings and connecting passages for the Walkers. He also designed the brick gate. The Walkers planted the trees which line the road to the house which is one of the showplaces of western Talbot County.[52]

[49] *Ibid.*, ff. 236-239. Made June 8, 1846. Recorded April 20, 1847. Re-examined and possession granted 1848. Webley consisted of 126 acres and one rod and 16 perches. Cromwell contained 157 acres at this time.

[50] She as one of two daughters. The other, Sara Sophia Smith Seth, married James Edward Covey.

[51] Talbot County Land Records, Liber C. B. L. # 199, ff. 455-457.

[52] Grateful acknowledgment for assistance is made to the staffs of the Maryland Historical Society, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, the Clerk's Office and Register of Wills for Talbot County, Courthouse, Easton, the Talbot County Free Library, the Land Office, and Hall of Records. Specifically thanks is directed to Mr. John H. Scarff, architect, for the floor plan, and to Mrs. Harold Walker, present owner of Webley, for her graciousness and for her part in restoring the estate.

We acknowledge a debt to Katherine Scarborough's description of Webley in *Homes of the Cavaliers*, pp. 297-299. Several personal visits to the house were invaluable as were interviews concerning the old place.

THE NEW WORLD MEDITERRANEAN

By Neil H. Swanson

IT seems to me that anyone who undertakes to talk about the past has an obligation to translate it, if he can, into terms that have some meaning for the present.[1] How can we live intelligently in the present if we know nothing of the past? How can we tell where we *are*, if we do not know where we came from? How can we measure progress if we cannot see the *landmarks* of the past?

In gathering material for this occasion, I came upon one landmark that affords a means of measuring how far we've come. It was only by the grace of God that this new world Mediterranean of ours was not occupied by Spain. The Spaniards were here long before Raleigh and Grenville, Drake and Captain Smith. They planted their first colony in the Chesapeake Bay country in 1526.[2] It failed.

They tried again, in 1570, on the Rappahannock, not far from the spot where Fredericksburg now stands.[3] A massacre by Indians wiped out their second effort. Two years later, they were here again. Their third expedition demonstrated Spain's peculiar fitness to possess the new world: It seized eight Indians and hanged them from the yardarms of its ships.

Innocent or guilty, the Indians served a purpose. The Spainiards took great satisfaction in that hanging. They considered it a master stroke of international diplomacy. It guaranteed, they thought, that all the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay region would

[1] Address before the Maryland Historical Society, October 30, 1952, on the occasion of the formal opening of an exhibition, "Chesapeake Panorama." Copyright, 1954, by Neil H. Swanson.

[2] Some think the actual location may have been in the Carolinas, south of Cape Hatteras. See Louis Dow Scisco, "Discovery of the Chesapeake Bay, 1525-1573," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XL (Dec., 1945), 277.—*Ed.*

[3] Since this address was delivered, an able study by Clifford M. Lewis, S. J., and Albert J. Loomie, S. J., *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill, 1953), has appeared. The center of their activities may have been in the James-York rivers region rather than in Potomac-Rappahannock region (see plate V, p. 40).—*Ed.*

be hostile to all white men. Many of them were. The ropes that hanged those Indians were long. Indirectly, in the next few decades, they brought death to many English settlers.

It seems to me that a quick, revealing glimpse of what has been accomplished by the way of life established here can be obtained by the asking of a single question: What kind of world would we be living in today if Chesapeake Bay had become a Spanish sea?

At first thought, it may seem exaggerated and pretentious—even pompous—to describe Chesapeake Bay as "The New World Mediterranean." It may seem to be an error out of local pride by ignorance. But Marylanders cannot justly be indicated on the charge of ostentation. They *can* be accused of pretence. But that accusation is the opposite of what it seems to be.

For more than a hundred years they have been pretending that they never have done anything important. They have been pretending that the defense of Baltimore in 1814 was a trifling matter.[4] They have even gone so far as to pretend that the defenders ran like frightened rabbits. I shall never forget that when I came to Baltimore some twenty years ago, one of its truly great men assured me that the Battle of North Point was a disgraceful business. He told me it would be a waste of time to bother with it. He even warned me that I'd make myself unpopular by rattling skeletons in Baltimore's dark closets. No: Baltimore isn't given to much bragging.

But I can imagine other intellectuals, both home-grown and imported, sneering at the absurd effrontery of calling Chesapeake Bay the New World Mediterranean. It is said of us Americans, by such top-lofty wizards, that we are a young, raw people. They are fond of saying that we are too new and raw to have any history—that we are uncivilized and uncouth—that we have no traditions, no ideas, no culture.

One of the intellectuals who enthusiastically cultivates that notion is an English scientist—an archeologist and a historian. At least, I assume she is a scientist. She has written a book. Obviously, having written a book myself, I must defend the proposition that the author of a book is blessed with perfect wisdom and complete authority. The name of this particular authority is Jacquetta Hawkes. The book she published a few months ago is titled *History in Earth and Stone.* And this is what it says:

[4] Mr. Swanson's study of the Maryland phase of the War of 1812, *The Perilous Fight* (New York, 1945), is well known.—*Ed.*

Anyone who has travelled in the Middle West of America must have felt the desolation which seems to rise like a fog from territories mauled by man but lacking any of the attributes of history. . . .

It is not only that the visible remains of antiquity are lacking. . . .

. . . the straight roads and scattered shacks have been imposed by the motor-car, and their design is . . . lifeless and mechanical.

I ask you: How can anybody make a speech about the history of such a country? How can anybody dare to speak of Chesapeake Bay, a narrow stretch of water in a wilderness of barbarism, as a "Mediterranean"? The very notion seems absurd when you remember that for thousands of years before Columbus, the old world Mediterranean was the nursery of great civilizations and the stronghold of great empires. It becomes more absurd when you remember that Napoleon, addressing his troops before the Battle of the Pyramids, said: "Forty centuries are looking down upon you."

But even in the field of ancient civilization, there is a parallel between the New World Mediterranean and the old. The Old World Mediterranean did not become a focus of civilization and of human destiny until long after other civilizations had risen, waxed, waned, and disappeared. Great city-states had risen in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates while the Old World Mediterranean was still a center, not of culture, but of barbarism. The ancient culture of Sumeria was dead and gone before the days of Athen, Rome, and Carthage. While it lived, it scarcely touched the Mediterranean. Its influence came there not by contact but by long inheritance.

Chesapeake Bay had its Sumeria, too. Napoleon was a "piker" when he spoke of forty centuries. It is possible to say to you tonight, with scrupulous scientific accuracy, that two hundred centuries are looking down on you. . . .

. . . two hundred centuries of North American history.

To put this New World Mediterranean of ours into historical perspective, I want to tell you about the first American confederacy. Twenty thousand years ago, the first immigrants arrived in North America. They came out of Asia, by way of Bering Strait. They pushed down through Canada between the towering, glittering walls of a great ice gorge in the slowly melting continental glacier. Century after century, they came in waves—slow waves of many different tribes and tongues.

Four hundred years before the birth of Christ, one of those waves crossed the Mississippi. It was not the first to do so. But this wave was a strong and warlike people. What they desired, they took. They wanted the Ohio Valley, and they took it from the people who were there before them. They founded, in that valley, a remarkable civilization. They were skilled in agriculture. They tilled the rich lowlands, and on the hills they built forts larger and more massive than Fort McHenry and Ticonderoga.

They built walled towns; and as they grew, they spread out along the tributary valleys just as the population of Baltimore is now spreading out into Baltimore county and down into Anne Arundel. They transformed the wilderness, in places, into vast estates that stretched for miles and even spanned the Ohio River. They worked copper mines in Michigan. They worked mica mines in Georgia.

Their merchant-adventurers travelled to the Rocky Mountains and brought back obsidian for sword blades—sword blades that in shape and size amazingly resemble the famous Roman legionary sword. They travelled to the Gulf of Mexico and brought back shells for ornaments and goblets. They travelled to the far southwest and brought back silver to adorn their women and their nobles. Their women wore hairpins—and they wore shoes with platform soles remarkably like those my wife has on tonight. They wore necklaces of pearls—three hundred matched pearls on a single string. They built great pyramids and crowned them with their temples. Their missionaries planted their religion in Wisconsin and New York and Florida. They became a nation—the first American Confederacy—a confederation of city-states. It isn't stretching history too much to say that they established the first United States of America. It lasted sixteen hundred years. It spread, flourished, and grew prosperous—and soft—and confident—and careless. And it was destroyed.

A great civilization—a great confederacy—the first United States of America—lasted eight times the span of our own national history. And then it was wiped out. It went the way of Nineveh and Babylon and Carthage. It ended in annihilation.

But if the theory of a Viking ship in Chesapeake Bay is true, that civilization still had two and a half centuries to live when Karlsefni steered his dragon ship between the shores of Gibson

Island and Kent Island.[5] Like the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia, reaching out tentative fingers toward the old world Mediterranean, that ancient American civilization reached out toward the New World Mediterranean. Like the Sumerian, it did not reach the shore. It stopped, so far as we now know, somewhere in the Allegheny mountains.

But there you have the first striking parallel between the old world Mediterranean and the new. It is not the only parallel. There is a saying in Hollywood that if you steal material from one book, that's plagiarism; but if you steal material from two books, that's research. On that basis, I am not a plagiarist.

But I confess that my next two sentences have been purloined from a book:

> The Mediterranean has been one of the great mothers of ships . . .
> From the earliest times to the present, the landlocked sea has developed and multiplied her progeny, sending them to the uttermost ends of the earth.

When you think of boats plying the old world Mediterranean, you think of lateen sails. But if you have seen the primitive oil painting of a Chester River shipyard which is a part of the Chesapeake Panorama, you have seen that lateen sails were a part of the seascape of the New World Mediterranean as well.[6] And our New World Mediterranean, no less than the old, has been one of the great mothers of ships, and it has literally sent its progeny to the uttermost ends of the earth. The first sail on both these inland seas was a square sail. That is true no matter how far back you go.

In the old world it is true whether you begin with the Egyptian galley sixteen centuries before the birth of Christ, or go back still farther to the little nugger on the Nile, with its one-man crew doing double duty as a mast—standing spraddle-legged, with his arms outstretched to spread his single garment to the wind.

It is true also of the New World Mediterranean, whether you begin with John Smith in 1608 or with the possibility of Karlsefni in his dragon ship exploring Chesapeake Bay in the first decade of the eleventh century—four hundred and ninety years before

[5] See Frederick J. Pohl, *The Lost Discovery* (New York, 1952).

[6] This painting is on view at the Society and was a feature of the Chesapeake Panorama exhibition. A reproduction may be found in *Maryland History Notes* for May, 1943.—*Ed.*

Columbus sailed to "discover" a new world that already had been discovered by European voyagers almost five centuries before.

I suspect—although I cannot prove it—that the square sail of our New World Mediterranean goes back almost as far into the past as the first crude square sail on its human mast on the Nile river. In earliest historic times, the inland tribes of the Ohio Valley understood the art of sailing. Indeed, they had outdone the white man in efficiency. Europeans, in emergencies, used sails as substitutes for tents. The midland Indians of North America reversed that process. Their great mats of woven reeds or fiber were intended to do double duty; they served as roofing and as siding for their houses and, when they felt the urge to travel, the roofs and sidings were rolled up, carried to the waterside, and lashed to masts.

I am tempted to believe that these ancient square sails plied the New World Mediterranean at the same time the old world square sails drove Phoenician, Greek and Roman galleys. And Chesapeake Bay can match, name for name, the ships whose mother was the old world Mediterranean. Whether you take them from the old world or the new, there is a magic in those names.

They have the ring of romance. . . .
. . . xebec and felucca . . .
the long Roman trireme with fire-baskets at its yardarms . . .
the dromon and the round corbita . . .
the patache, the saique and the goelette.
And to match them there's the pungy and the bugeye . . .
. . . the buy-boat with an empty basket boisted to its gaff . . .
the skipjack and the ram . . .
the brogan and the sharpie . . .
and the famous clippers that plucked hairs out of the British lion's tail and declared the British Isles blockaded. . . .
and the famous clipper ships that carried Chesapeake Bay house-flags into strange ports all around the world at speeds never before heard of. . . .
and the log canoe, not only a unique product of the Chesapeake, but also the most beautiful sailing craft that ever spread its canvas to the wind.[7]

[7] See M. V. Brewington, *Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes* (Newport News, Va. 1937).

It would be possible to go on almost indefinitely drawing minor parallels between the old world Mediterranean and the new. But it's high time to get down to fundamentals. The real importance of the Bay has been its impact upon history.

It is no exaggeration to say that it has changed the world and shaped the future of mankind as surely as the old world Mediterranean. To understand the impact of the Bay on history, you must realize that it is schizophrenic. It has a split personality. For generations we have thought of the Chesapeake as a barrier—as a gulf dividing Maryland into two parts.

Now the barrier is down, the gulf is bridged. The Bay takes on once more its original and more important personality. Its real importance to the world has been that of a unifying force. In the beginning, it was not a barrier. It was a broad highway. The fact of its existence created, in the new world, a sense of unity.

Within a year after Jamestown was established, John Smith in his barge of " less than three tuns burthen " had gone poking up the Susquehanna, hunting for a route to China. Strange to say, he somehow missed it. But he did find something that was more important. He discovered that the Chesapeake Bay country was essentially a unit.

The Bay was a unifying force so powerful that less than six years after the arrival of the *Ark* and the *Dove*, the colonies of Maryland and Virginia had been drawn together, by their common interests and the existence of this great broad highway, into armed alliance for defense against the Indians. I have discovered that there is so much undiscovered history that I am wary about saying anything is " first." But to the best of my knowledge, that alliance was the first step toward union in the new world.

Chesapeake Bay has been a unifying force so powerful that it overcame the disruptive forces which were transplanted to this region from the old world. The fact of its existence, giving the settlers of the region a means of communication and co-operation as well as a common interest, enabled them to turn back the incursions of the Swedes and Dutchmen from the north, the Frenchmen from the westward, and the Spaniards from the south. In that sense, it deserves the name of New World Mediterranean; for as a unifying force it has had greater influence on history than did the old world Mediterranean, where divisive and disruptive forces have not yet been reconciled.

More important yet, it led to the development of a distinctive civilization—a civilization focused on tidewater . . . drawing its food from a sheltered sea . . . building homes that faced the rivers . . . getting news by water . . . sending mail by water . . . trading, buying, selling, even marrying by water.

It is even reasonable to say that if the Bay had not existed, Maryland would not have furnished the Father of his Country with his first American ancestor—his great-great-great grandfather. The Bay did more than draw the colonies of Maryland and of Virginia together. It played a vital part in unifying all the thirteen colonies. How great that part was can be understood when you remember that when the first regular mail coaches began to run between Baltimore and Philadelphia in 1765, the route was by water to Frenchtown, by road to Christiana, and again by water up to Philadelphia. Nor should it be forgotten that the Bay, creating a common way of life and a common culture, drew the sympathies of Marylanders toward Virginia in the War Between the States. That same common culture now has given Maryland one of its proudest and a unique distinctions—that the honored battle flag of the Confederacy marches with the Stars and Stripes at the head of our old Dandy Fifth, the oldest regiment in the army of the United States. And that same common culture of the Bay has given us a symbol of unity—an old, old symbol that comes to us from that first American confederacy in the Ohio Valley, out of distant Asia—the famous shoulder patch worn by the 29th Division.

No discussion of the New World Mediterranean can be complete without at least a mention of its impact on the present and the future through its enromous influence upon military strategy. You might even go so far as to say that the Chesapeake was the greatest single factor in determining that the Union should not be disrupted by the Civil War—that the Potomac should not be the border between two separate nations. It is the old, old lesson of the sea: That the control of strategic water is control of human destiny and of the fate of nations. Just as the possession of the sea gave England the vital "inner lines" in its long struggle with fanatic revolutionary French and then against the tyrannical ambitions of Napoleon, the existence and control of Chesapeake Bay gave to the North the inner lines in the desperate struggle for the heart of the Confederacy. The Union generals could

move masses of troops faster around the perimeter of Richmond than the Confederates could move them shorter distances by land. Virginia roads choked with mud; rails rusted; rolling stock broke down. But the Bay was a broad highway—a great military road.

Not even the genius of Lee nor the fierce valor of the Army of Northern Virginia could prevail against the implacable fact of the existence of the Chesapeake. Jeb Stuart could ride around the Union armies; he could penetrate their land screens. But not even he could penetrate the secrets of the great military highway nature has provided.

It is significant that the first, deepest thrust of English-speaking power into the heart of the new world in the struggle with the French for the possession of the continent was made by water lines, along the valley of Potomac from its Chesapeake Bay base. It is significant, too, that in our two wars of independence, British strategy was based on the existence of the Bay.

The first plan of campaign in the Revolution was to split the colonies into three parts—to cut off New England by a thrust down the Hudson, and to divide the Atlantic colonies by a thrust *coming from the west* and aimed at Virginia and Maryland. You may or may not know that that campaign was frustrated in the beginning by the capture, at Frederick in Maryland, of the British officer carrying the plans and orders to the garrisons on the frontier.

But it was in our second War of Independence that the Bay profoundly shaped and changed the future of the world. It was the fact of the Bay's existence that controlled once more the British strategy—the great three-pronged attack that was to split the young republic into helpless fragments—one blow coming down the Hudson, one blow coming up the Bay, the third blow striking at the Mississippi.

Most of you have heard me say this: I believe that in the long perspective of the years, the Battle of Baltimore has become one of the world's decisive battles. The American commissioners at Ghent had been confronted with an ultimatum. By its terms, the western boundary of the United States would be the Greenville Line. That line ran through Ohio.

Beyond it, Britain intended to set up a buffer state on the European pattern—an Indian nation under British military domination. Four days after the news of the defeat at Baltimore reached London, the ultimatum was withdrawn.

What would have happened if the news had been of victory, instead? The biggest word in history is "if." But I believe that if the terms of that ultimatum had been imposed on the United States, the free world would not exist as we now know it.

I believe the issue of the War Between the States was decided at North Point and Fort McHenry. Beyond the Greenville Line that would have blocked the growth of the United States, there came into existence Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, and half of the state of Ohio. Those new states sent more than eight hundred thousand men into the Union armies. I do not believe it is too much to say that those eight hundred thousand were the balance of power that turned the tide of battle in that war.

Believing that, I also believe that the defense of Baltimore changed the history of the modern world. What would the world be like today if this were *two* nations, and not one? Twice, now, it has been the power of these *United* States that turned the tide of battle in two greater wars.

And again, today, it is the power of these United States that is maintaining freedom in the world against the deadliest threat that it has ever known. Upon those grounds, the Bay of Chesapeake has every right to be called the New World Mediterranean. It has profoundly shaped the future of mankind.

MARYLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1953

THIS is the third in a series of annual bibliographies offered to our readers. In general the same principles of selection previously used (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVII [Mar., 1952], 55-61, and XLVIII [Mar., 1953], 53-64) apply in this year's compilation. Grateful acknowledgment for assistance is made to the staff of the Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library. Materials in this *Magazine,* the *Maryland History Notes,* current government publications, and undocumented newspaper articles are specifically omitted. No theses or dissertations are listed as none have come to our notice.

The entries which follow are listed alphabetically under three headings: I. Books; II. Pamphlets and Leaflets; and III. Articles. (*Entries under* III. Articles *are listed alphabetically by publication.*)

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REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era. By ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON. Edited by GEORGE CARRINGTON MASON. Newport News: Mariners' Museum, 1953. xii, 482 pp. $5.00.

In the Foreword of *Tobacco Coast*, Mr. Middleton carefully states the purpose and scope of the book as follows:

"My purpose is to deal with every aspect of the maritime history of colonial Virginia and Maryland and thereby to show how Chesapeake Bay and its many tributaries profoundly influenced the historical development of those colonies by providing a natural system of waterways that facilitated rapid settlement, made possible the large-scale production of tobacco, rendered seaports unnecessary below the fall line, and presented Virginia and Maryland with problems of internal transportation and of naval defense quite unlike those of other British American colonies. As a by-product, the study reveals the fact—often neglected by historians—that the Chesapeake Bay country, despite its division into two colonies, remained a single economic and physiographic unit."

With the premise so carefully stated, the reviewer is left with only two queries to answer, first, how well does the book live up to this advance notice, and second, is the premise valid?

In dealing with economic and social history the writer is always faced with the problem of what kind of a sequence to follow in presenting his subject. Mr. Middleton chose a topical rather than a chronological sequence. The book is divided into five parts, "Sea and Bay," "Commerce," "Shipping," "Warfare," and "Conclusion." This method inevitably produces a certain amount of repetition for the author must state basic facts again and again in treating each topic. If skilfully done, this is helpful to the reader; if poorly done, the reader feels that he is perusing a collection of magazine articles. Mr. Middleton weaves his basic facts through each chapter neatly so that the continuity is preserved and at the same time any one chapter may be read by itself without confusion. This is an accomplishment of a high order and gives the book a dual value as both a unitary study and as a reference source. The copious footnotes, extensive bibliography, and fairly lengthy index confirm this estimate of its structural value.

The merit of the individual chapters is more difficult to assess. The chapter on "The Convoy System," for instance, is cogent and smoothly put together with a wealth of details, a sense of chronological development, and excellent generalization. The same can be said for "Defense

of the Bay," a view of the measures taken to protect the shipping and people in the Bay region from pirates, privateers, and enemy expeditions. Both topics lend themselves to the chronological approach and are relatively simple in nature. The chapter on "The Tobacco Trade" is more typical of the book and less successful in its organization. It begins with an excellent survey of the first few decades of tobacco growing and a long view of the later progress of the industry. This is followed by a topical treatment of the methods of cultivation of tobacco and its preparation for shipping. After that is another topical treatment of the several methods of marketing tobacco through consignment merchants and factors, and after that a separate section on tariff duties, the growth of production, and colonial attempts to reduce the crop and regulate the quality of tobacco. The chapter closes with a discussion of the Continental European market and the special diplomatic problems which this involved. The chapters on "British and African Trade," "American and South European Trade," "Ships and Shipbuilding," and "Masters and Mariners" are all constructed in much the same way, and the result is unsatisfying. The material is all there, but the effect is choppy. "Masters and Mariners," in fact, rambles from one aspect to the other without much order, although the information is entertaining and often important. "Shoals and Shallows," on the other hand, covers the subjects of ferry boats, maps and charts, pilots and similar things much more smoothly and purposefully. Indeed, the author pleads guilty to this criticism by saying in the Foreword ". . . I have been persuaded that [the book's] contents, rather than its form, are of immediate value. . . . I offer it to the public for what it is worth, with no illusions on my part as to its literary quality. . . ." While an honest disclaimer, this does not improve the quality of the presentation, and the reviewer can simply wish that Mr. Middleton had had the time to make drastic revisions for the sake of clarity and force. Much of the material is entirely new, much of it provocative, but the pedestrian presentation robs the material of its impact.

Does the author fully answer his purpose? He certainly covers all the territory which he mapped out in the Foreword, but again the lack of force in the presentation obscures his success. If the lay reader is patient and reads carefully he will find it all spread before him. The professional will know that this is an important work, a pioneer attempt to treat the economic history of the Chesapeake Bay as a unit, and he will be thankful for its appearance. The accolade of "monumental" may be given to *Tobacco Coast*, for indeed it is a monument to years of research and surely will stand for many decades before it is superseded as an exhaustive study of the subject.

Mr. Middleton is quite correct in pointing out that historians have often neglected the fact that the Chesapeake Bay is an economic unit, despite its political divisions, and that this profoundly affected the historical development of Virginia and Maryland. However, he overlooks the fact that history itself, and particularly economic history, is not divided neatly by such events as revolutions. The central feature of the book is the tobacco industry of Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, but he does not

follow the story of this industry to its denouement *after* the Revolution. Many things are left up in the air by this arbitrary termination. The author might have revealed the swift downfall of the Tidewater tobacco industry in the generation after 1775; he might have indicated the changing pattern of the tobacco trade after the British Navigation Laws were no longer in effect; he might have sketched in the phenomenal rise of Baltimore after 1780. The author may protest that he could not go on forever, and this is a fair protest, but some indication of these points if only in an epilogue, should have concluded the drama which he began. In this sense, the book's premise is faulty—we only have two-thirds of the story of the "tobacco coast."

WILBUR HARVEY HUNTER, JR.

The Peale Museum

Chesapeake Bay: A Pictorial Maritime History. By M. V. BREWINGTON. Cambridge, Md.: Cornell Maritime Press, 1953. 229 pp. $6.50.

This interesting volume displays the pageantry of the Chesapeake Bay from the arrival of the first settlers to these shores up to the present. This is the first serious attempt to bring between two covers examples of the steam and sailing craft of the Bay, tidewater scenes, and historical events. More than 300 reproductions of photos, maps, drawings, and paintings make up the illustrations while the book is divided into fourteen chapters of brief text.

At the outset the reader is introduced to the first "Explorers and Settlers," followed by a description of "Shipbuilding" in the Chesapeake area. Chapters on "Sailing Vessels," "Steamboats," "Ferries," and "Baycraft" tell of the many types of watercraft which traded on the Bay or were developed there.

The author describes the development of the "Ports," from those once prominent in the early days to the present chief shipping centers of Baltimore and Norfolk. The heading of "Commerce and Trade" relates the Chesapeake's imports and exports and the traffic confined to its waters.

The number of skills required to ready a ship for sea is brought out in the section devoted to "Maritime Artisans." The Chesapeake's chief basis to fame, its seafood, is reviewed in the chapter "Oysters, Crabs, and Fish." Featured are the methods employed in taking these from the water.

The book is brought to a conclusion with treatises on "Pilots," "Privateering," "Piracy and War," "The Bay's Maritime Museums," and "Sport."

As a whole the illustrations are an excellent assemblage of the Bay's historical and pictorial virtues even though the views concerning the upper Chesapeake and Maryland seem to outweigh those of the lower Bay and Virginia by almost three to one.

An unfortunate inclusion in "Baycraft," selected to represent the "ram," was the *William J. Stanford*, a vessel originally constructed as a two-masted schooner a score of years before the building of what has

been designated as the "first" ram. Later lengthened the *Stanford* resembled a ram only in that it had 3 baldheaded masts.

Failure to mention the extremely interesting marine museum at the Norfolk Naval Shipyard, Portsmouth, Virginia, in the chapter devoted to such institutions, was a grave omission.

This reviewer feels greater effort could have been made to identify by name more of the vessels pictured. And an index of vessel's names and places would have increased the value of the volume as a history. But overlooking such details the book contains a wealth of views of documentary value. The author is to be congratulated for assembling the illustrations from many sources and presenting them in an interesting manner. This record of the Bay is a welcome addition to the libraries of all interested in the Chesapeake and tidewater country.

ROBERT H. BURGESS

The Mariners' Museum

Baltimore As Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. (Studies in Maryland History, No. 2) By RAPHAEL SEMMES. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953. xi, 208 pp. $4.

This pretty little volume had been brought nearly to completion by its author before his pathetic demise in the autumn of 1952. Perhaps because he had spent only a year's research on the subject, what might have become, under fuller preparation, a major contribution to the cultural history of Baltimore remains a slight though useful monograph. The theme is treated in five chapters, usually covering one or two decades each, the longest being 42-page Chapter V on the 1840-1860 period. The valuable bibliography (pp. 181-194) lists 301 travel sources of varying type. They are predominantly English, with American items a poor second and the remainder breaking down as follows: French 10, German 7, Italian 3, Swedish and Hungarian 1 each.

The book's chief fault is its relatively narrow range. It is too bad, for example, that the author chose to ignore all writers of fiction, dozens of whom, in their background descriptions, provide revealing glimpses of Baltimore. With one exception, too, he ignored all manuscript sources. There is, furthermore, a recurring tendency to digression. The *vignettes* of Mme Patterson Bonaparte at Geneva, or of what Baltimoreans thought about some Japanese visitors (instead of vice-versa), are quite readable but also quite extraneous. On this basis all the following passages are beside the point: pp. 20-24, 70-71, 94-96, 118, 147, 175-180. Summarizing or critical commentary, where it exists, is meagre. At least one error occurs (p. 140) with the statement that throughout "the Civil War Baltimore was too close to the fighting front to attract visitors from overseas or even from the North—certainly not diarists, sightseers or writers of travel books. . . ." Yet in this very period one Anthony

Trollope, from overseas, twice visited our city and wrote about it interestingly in his travel book, *North America* (a fine new edition of which appeared in 1951).

But there is a credit side to the ledger. For one thing, the work boasts 13 well-chosen illustrations. For another, it has a very good index (provided by the staff of the Maryland Historical Society). Only 4 typos have been detected. And lastly, of course, is the beguiling opportunity here offered of treading once again those Dear Dead Days of Faerie when local hotels (specifically, the Indian Queen) supplied bedroom slippers for all guests, or when the charm of a Sabbath congregation at the Cathedral could be termed unparalleled, "Excepting on a very brilliant Sunday at the Tuileries," or when—with a straight face—Jones' Falls could be described as "a most beautiful, romantic place. . . ." For evoking such days the late Mr. Semmes deserves our nostalgic gratitude, and, in any event, he has broken good ground for a more nearly definitive work on the subject.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Prince of Players: Edwin Booth. By ELEANOR RUGGLES. New York: Norton, 1953. 401 pp. $4.50.

There have been about ten biographies written on Edwin Booth. Miss Ruggles' recent work on Bel Air's great Hamlet, however, is by the far the best of the lot. While she has employed the materials of the earlier books (with perhaps better use of Booth's letters), she has effected a beautiful synthesis of all her sources so that a warm, understanding picture of the whole man, and the world in which he lived and worked, emerges.

Prince of Players does not linger in Maryland long. After Ned Booth's boyhood on the Howard County farm and on Exeter Street in Baltimore, the book moves on to his travelling apprenticeship with his father, his early trouping in California, his life with his two wives (the charming Mary Devlin, who died too soon, and the unhappy Mary McVicker, who went mad), his business ventures and his European tour, all with great sympathy and insight. Analysis of his acting is handled adequately enough, but kept more or less incidental to the story of his life. His Hamlet, of course, is discussed in some detail; but for the rest, the emphasis is on Edwin Booth, the man, on the stage, rather than on his interpretation of any particular rôle.

Booth's contemporary biographers (his sister Asia, his daughter Edwina, and his friend, the dramatic critic "Weeping Willie" Winter) were too close to him to be objective. They are discreetly Victorian in withholding certain facts of his life, and this side idolatry in their adulation of him. More recently, Lockridge's *Darling of Misfortune* (1932) is a fine, thorough job of rediscovery, marred somewhat by a facetious style; and Kimmel's *The Mad Booths of Maryland* (1940), uncovering a wealth of

new material, has become the definitive work on the whole Booth family. *Prince of Players*, however, accomplishes what the last two books attempt: it is a book that can be used not only by the scholar (although footnotes or a reference list, and better biographical entries would have improved it for this use), but read for pleasure by the layman.

JOHN FORD SOLLERS

American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union. By MARY BARTLETT COWDREY. New York: New-York Historical Society, 1953. 2 vols. $7.50.

Important new light is being thrown upon early 19th century American art and artists by the publication of the records and catalogues of early American art exhibitions in various cities, compiled by capable experts in the field of early 19th century American art history, and this has been especially true in the case of New York City. Thus in 1943 there was published by the New-York Historical Society the exhibition records of the National Academy of Design covering the years 1826-1860, of which Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, now of the Art Department of Smith College, was the editor. Now a decade later this invaluable work has been followed under the authorship of Miss Cowdrey, also in two volumes and with the imprint of the New-York Historical Society, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union, 1816-1852*, the records of exhibitions in New York of the American Academy, 1816-1843, and of the American Art-Union, 1838-1852. Included in this work in Volume I is a foreword by James Thomas Flexner, the well known authority on American art, which tells us of the early attempts by artists to organize themselves into professional groups; an introduction on the history and activities of the American Academy of Fine Arts by Theodore Sizer, Professor of the History of Art at Yale; and an introductory chapter on the American Art-Union by Charles E. Baker of the New-York Historical Society. These valuable introductory chapters are followed in Volume II by Miss Cowdrey's own scholarly work on the Exhibition Record with listings, arranged under the names of the artists, of the several thousand paintings exhibited between 1816 and 1852, first at the American Academy and later at the Art-Union, compiled from the printed cataolgues of exhibitions and other records of these two societies. It is to be noted that the exhibitions at the American Academy were largely of paintings owned by well-to-do collectors and connoisseurs, attributed by the owners to sundry noted European artists; while those at the Art-Union were composed largely of paintings by contemporary American artists especially of the New York area who were exhibitors.

Local studies of 18th and early 19th century art in the larger cities contribute much to our knowledge of early American painters and painting. A catalogue by Anna Wells Rutledge of works of art shown at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts which was established in 1805, will

soon appear under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society. Miss Rutledge's work on *Artists in the Life of Charleston*, 1949, was a notable contribution to the study of early southern art. Similar studies should also be made of the early art and artists of other American cities.

J. Hall Pleasants

The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572. By Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie. Chapel Hill: Published for Virginia Historical Society by Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1953. 294 pp. $7.50.

Persons who object to having their opinions challenged by their reading should avoid this book. Those harboring the notion the Spanish never attempted to settle in the Chesapeake Bay area may be slightly upset to learn that thirty-seven years before Jamestown Spaniards made a courageous but ill-fated attempt to plant a mission in what is now Virginia. Moreover, readers are clearly shown that the Jesuit mission was a part of a design that included the creation of a vast Spanish colonial empire and the discovery of a strait to the Orient, as well as the transfer of missionary activity to a more promising location.

This study will jolt many well-informed students of history into shifting the events of 1570-1572 from the Potomac-Rappahannock to the James-York region. Fathers Lewis and Loomie advance, in this reviewer's opinion, the convincing hypothesis that the missioners travelled up the James to College Creek, carried their supplies over to Queens Creek or Kings Creek and paddled them down to the York River to a Chiskiac village. Three of these devoted servants of God were killed near Jamestown and the remainder at the village on the York.

Their conclusion revises the conjecture of Herbert E. Bolton, the eminent historian, that the Jesuit mission was " perhaps on the Rappahannock." To some students of Virginia history the authors of this book do not give sufficient weight to the contention of David I. Bushnell, the distinguished authority on Indians, that enough Spanish artifacts were found in the cache at Leedstown to justify the conclusion that some Spaniards had been temporarily on the Rappahannock.

At least one historical researcher feels that the Spanish missionaries may have been massacred by the war-like Manahoac Indians instead of the Powhatan Indians.

This study is divided into: a historical synthesis (which will be all that many non-specialists will read) ; the documents in their original Spanish or Latin and their English translation; reproductions of a number of early maps, and an extended discussion of the Chesapeake Bay area as it was known to Sixteenth Century explorers.

The authors have displayed great zeal in studying and making available widely scattered documentary sources. Their researches were not confined to libraries and archives. Through the courtesy of Governor John S.

Battle, they used the Virginia State launch in exploring the lower Bay and the mouth of the James, as a means of interpreting the accounts of the Spanish navigators.

Some readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* may be especially interested in this book because it concerns the Chesapeake and Catholic missionary pioneering and because the two authors were at Woodstock College when they wrote it.

The authors; Dr. E. G. Swem, "occasional advisor"; the Virginia Historical Society; and the University of North Carolina Press should be congratulated on the publication of this important contribution to early American history.

CARROL H. QUENZEL

Mary Washington College of the University of Virigina

A History of the South. By FRANCIS B. SIMKINS. New York: Knopf, 1953. xiii, 655 pp. $7.50.

Those who question the validity of a sectional approach to American history will find pungent arguments substantiating that approach in Professor Simkins' new study, *A History of the South.* This book is more than a revised edition of his earlier work, *The South Old and New: 1820-1947.* It has been re-written to include the colonial period as well as extended to record the South's reactions to the elections of 1952.

Professor Simkins' avowed concern is "to stress those political and social traits that makes the region between the Potomac and Rio Grande a cultural province conscious of its identity." Thus he places his emphasis on an interpretation of the South after 1820, when the Missouri Compromise over the question of the extension of slavery created a sectional awareness, which persists today. This sectional thesis is ably and convincingly documented.

This historian's interpretation of the history of the South is in line with that of revisionist scholars who have seen the urgent need of a re-evaluation of that section's history. He is particularly acute in his analysis of the South's attempted adjustments to the demands of Northern progress after the Civil War. Here the paradoxes of the New South movement are clearly revealed. The theme of the Negro and his problems is a continuing one throughout this study, and Professor Simkins scrutinizes with sympathy and broad understanding the role of the Negro as a second-class citizen, not only in the South, but in the nation at large. Nor does he fail to give proper weight to the influence of religion on the social, political, and intellectual outlook of Southerners. Perhaps there is an over-stressing of the conservative tendencies of Southern history, at the expense of certain limited but persistent signs of liberal and even radical trends. Yet this is a truly comprehensive study of the South in all of its important manifestations.

Professor Simkins is a distinguished historian who understands and interprets his section with admirable objectivity and scholarly merit.

SUZANNE C. LOWITT

The Negro in the Civil War. By BENJAMIN QUARLES. Boston: Little, Brown, 1953. xvi, 379 pp. $5.

This volume should hold interest for more than the research specialist in the Civil War period; especially it should appeal to the members of the colored race who have pride in the achievements of their race; it may not be too much to say that it may appeal to the general reader.

The scope covered by the study is comprehensive, for the research has covered practically every aspect of the life of the negro during the war years. That research has turned up much fresh data on many old subjects.

This reviewer deplores the absence of documentation, for the work is one of historical research. The author's training appears in the bibliography (see pp. 354, 356 for exact references) and in general references in the text. However, one of the valuable contributions of historical scholarship has been insistence on exact references. The reader need not pin himself down to reading the notes, whether on the next page or relegated to the rear of the book. Absence of documentation can easily lead to inexactness of statement.

The organization of the material leaves something to be desired, as it seems to be motivated by reader appeal. For instance, descriptions of battles occur in three separate places. It does not appear why discussion of the military contribution of the negro should not be brought together in one chapter.

In general the style is good. There are several instances of happy phrasing ("Garrison was becoming . . . reformer emeritus." p. 101) and the descriptions of Garrison and Phillips are satisfying in their vividness (pp. 100-101). Striking titles for chapter headings attract the reader, as "No More Driver's Lash." In his zeal for arresting titles, however, the author chooses some which apply to a segment of the chapter ("Anselmas Reports to God," Chapter X). Attention should be called yet once again to the misuse of the word, "Creols" p. 138). For inconsistency in punctuation of dates (see pp. 28, 69, 95, 300) the publisher may be responsible, but, whoever is responsible, the form should be uniform.

ELLA LONN

Early American Steamers. By ERIC HEYL. Buffalo: 1953. vii, 467 pp. $8.

Sidewheeler Saga, A Chronicle of Steamboating. By RALPH N. HILL. New York: Rinehart, 1953. xii, 342 pp. $5.

These two books were selected for joint review because they deal to a large degree with the same subject. The manner in which the authors have presented it, however, is as wide apart as the poles. Eric Heyl, as he is well qualified to do, has given us a precise alphabetical catalogue of early steamships. Each listing gives a concise history of the ship and, what is remarkable, a picture.

Of local interest is the listing of the early ships of the much-lamented

Merchants and Miners Line. Another interesting listing is the *Quaker City*, on which Mark Twain voyaged to Europe and the Near East. It was this trip that gave birth to his humorous and entertaining book, *The Innocents Abroad*. It is a valuable reference book for the student of steamship history.

Ralph Nading Hall, while dealing with the invention of the steamboat and steamship and their subsequent development, has given us something in an entirely different vein. Here is a book in which the average reader will find great entertainment. The author's account of the machinations of Livingstone, Stevens, Vanderbilt, Drew, Fisk, and Gould, how they changed sides as suited their purpose and often doublecrossed their own partners, makes an hilarious story which the reader will not soon forget. Mr. Hall has given us such a readable story that we may forgive him for dismissing the Chesapeake with a few lines, and for placing the date for the introduction of steam in Chesapeake waters as 1815. The correct date is, of course, 1813.

WILLIAM CALVERT STEUART

William L. Wilson and Tariff Reform. By FESTUS P. SUMMERS. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1953. xi, 288 pp. $5.

Professor Summers has written a good book about William L. Wilson of West Virginia. Drawing upon twenty-eight manuscript collections, speeches and writings, as well as magazine articles and standard secondary works, Summers has traced the career of Wilson as a leading advocate of American tariff reform during his tenure as Representative (Democrat) from the Second Congressional District of West Virginia. Narrative in style and chronological in structure, the heart of the book is contained in nine chapters that recount the bitter inter-party and intra-party tariff debates and political maneuvers that took place in the United States from 1883 to 1894.

Wilson was a Jeffersonian Democrat by background and intellectual preference. His opposition to high protectionist Republicans and Democrats placed him side by side with Grover Cleveland in an effort to vitiate the growing power of the post-Civil War industrialists and producers who demanded tariff assistance against foreign competition. Though he had a touch of Spencerian individualism, he was unwilling to go all the way and condemn government intervention in economic life. Instead, he chose to adopt laissez faire, merge it with opposition to economic interests with which he lacked sympathy, and plead for equal opportunity for all. Though well-meant, Wilson's position was already static in an age when practical men understood the importance of governmental legislation to the welfare of economic interests. It was, moreover, a self deception, for his advocacy of government sponsored low tariffs put him on a side in the social struggle that marked the eighties and nineties in American history. But Wilson was no extremist and he had to accept the distorted version of his tariff ideas in the Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894. He

regarded Populism as a tactical block to tariff reform and then was unable to see that the free silver cry masked a fundamental protest against some of the very wrongs that he himself opposed. In the end, his devotion to the tariff and his fear of Populism made him a Gold Democrat and a fading light in the Democratic Party.

CHARLES VEVIER

Rutgers University

American Constitutional Custom: A Forgotten Factor in the Founding. By BURLEIGH C. RODICK. New York; Philosophical Library, 1953. xvi, 244 pp. $4.75.

Consisting of a series of essays, topical in arrangement, this volume briefly attempts a "general survey of habit, custom and tradition as it developed in early American politics." Chronologically, it covers the growth of American constitutionalism prior to 1800, with occasional comments on the period beyond. Within its covers are compressed 140 pages of text and 90 pages of notes and bibliography.

While obviously a labor of love which has been the author's center of attention for many years, the monograph nonetheless does not claim to be a work of original scholarship or research. Mr. Rodick presents his effort as something of a pioneer study in a hitherto untilled field of scholarship, and as an "interpretative study" consisting of "brief and fragmentary notes." Striving at historical analysis and interpretation, he has read and consulted a vast amount of secondary and some primary literature, but has not always digested fully and critically.

In the main, the book is based on secondary works, and on the opinions and conclusions of other writers. Historical parallels are drawn between English and American history; counterparts in the history of the two countries are often alluded to, but the comparisons are sometimes forced, and the connections are not always warranted by the facts. Written, apparently, for "the love of art and letters for their own sake," the book does give evidence of much thought and deep concern.

ALEXANDER DECONDE

Duke University

The Writing of American History. By MICHAEL KRAUS. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1953. x, 387 pp. $5.50.

Professor Kraus' book is very welcome indeed. Since his earlier work, *A History of American History*, went out of print, students and teachers of United States history have felt the need for a comprehensive survey of American historiography. Covering the ground from colonial times to the present, the Kraus volume provides the best available introduction to and analysis of the writings of our major historians.

Although largely a revision of the earlier *History*, the present book, it should be noted, is much improved in both style and organization. Some of the material dealing with older historical works has been compressed through the elimination of long source quotations, while a number of more recent histories have been included. The rearrangement of the latter chapters and the greater effort to integrate historiography with trends in intellectual history are especially noteworthy. Also valuable are the revised footnotes which keep abreast of the expanding secondary literature concerning American historical writing.

In short the reader will find *The Writing of American History* a superior version of a long standard work, and anyone with a serious interest in United States history will want a copy on his bookshelf.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

American University

Thomas Rodney: Revolutionary & Builder of the West. By WILLIAM B. HAMILTON. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1953. 96 pp. $2.

An Unpublished Letter of William Beckford of Hertford. Edited by THOMAS B. BRUMBAUGH. Jamaica Monograph No. 17. Frederick: 1953. 13 pp.

Thomas Rodney and his brother, Caesar, were organizers of the American Revolution in the Kent and Sussex counties of Delaware. Conservatives, landowners, and officeholders, they rebelled against British taxes and encroachments and helped to revolutionize Delaware. "Wherever there was anti-Tory action in Kent," Thomas Rodney "was in the van." But the violence of the Revolution passed quickly and Rodney failed to win either state or national prominence. As a man of lesser talents, when compared with Adams and Hancock, he found only humble reward for his patriotic work and did not again win favor until the Jeffersonian revolution. After 1800 Rodney became judge and land commissioner in Mississippi territory where his long life ended in the excitement of the Burr conspiracy and in the turbulence of frontier democracy.

Mr. Hamilton's monograph is a separate printing of the biographical sketch that appeared in his excellent book, *Angle-American Law on the*

Frontier: Thomas Rodney and his Territorial Cases. For describing the important contributions of Thomas Rodney, this essay is too brief and condensed; it is little more than a sketch and leaves out explanations of motivations and associations which would make Rodney's career more meaningful.

Beckford's letter, September 27, 1776, presents an unusually sympathetic view of America's part in the Revolution against Great Britain. The West Indian planter deplored the "folly" and "timidity" of the home government's policy and determination—"where prepossession, and infatuation so totally engross the bosom of the King, how are we to expect that he will sacrifice his friends, in compliance to the inclinations, and the safety of his people." This letter is unedited and has only a brief introduction, but it shows that West Indians shared some of the enthusiasm for revolution that enflamed the continental colonials.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

Whittier College

The Traitor and the Spy. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953. 431 pp. $5.75.

In almost every respect *The Traitor and the Spy* offers a positive response to Professor Samuel Eliot Morison's plea for better writing in historical works (*cf.* Morison's *History as a Literary Art: An Appeal to Young Historians* [Old South Leaflets, Series II, No. 1]). Here is a portrait of treason which the public can read and the student will utilize. Mr. Flexner skilfully interweaves three lives against the tumultuous backdrop of the American Revolution—vain and talented Benedict Arnold, sensual and selfish Peggy Shippen Arnold, sophisticated, ambitious Major John André are the leading characters in a powerful narrative. Who was the villain, which the hero, why the treason? The lay reader will find clear answers to these questions, and a firm guide through the labyrinth of political strategy and military tactics. A treasure of detail marshalled into convincing conclusions will offer dividends to the specialist on the period who takes up *The Traitor and the Spy.* And all readers will delight in the excellence of the author's style.

But a complaint must be registered, a complaint against the relegation of scholarly apparatus into a pamphlet which is available from the publisher upon request. So far as this reviewer is concerned this is an unsatisfactory compromise between publisher's costs, public acceptance, and scholarly integrity. The footnotes in a separate pamphlet are almost useless.

It seems to be past time that writers of "scholarly" works took up this question among themselves. A clear line of footnote policy is needed. Perhaps a discussion of this problem deserves a place on the agenda of historical association meetings.

HAROLD M. HYMAN

Earlham College

The Lady of Arlington. By HARNETT T. KANE. Garden City: Doubleday, 1953. 288 pp. $3.50.

Harnett T. Kane has by now established himself as one of the best known writers of historical fiction in the country today. Using a formula which includes a respectable amount of "honest-to-goodness" historical research, a bit of psychological probing and a workmanlike job of writing in the romantic vein, he has produced several successful candidates for the best seller lists. Kane's most recent excusion into historical fiction, *The Lady of Arlington*, is based on the adult life of Mrs. Robert E. Lee. In reading this novel it becomes quite clear that Mary Custis Lee in herself was not a remarkable woman. The story of her life, however, is far from being uninteresting for it reflects quite adequately the intriguing social customs and attitudes of the ante-bellum aristocracy of the upper South. Moreover, the glimpses which are afforded into General Lee's complex personality from the vantage point of his wife, contribute to the attractiveness the book might have for the devotee of historical fiction. Although no one would accuse Kane of possessing literary or interpretive genius, it must be admitted that *The Lady of Arlington* reveals his special talent for popularizing history without unduly distorting it.

DONALD R. MCCOY

State University of New York, Cortland

Mount Vernon: the Story of a Shrine. By GERALD W. JOHNSON and CHARLES C. WALL. New York: Random House, 1953. 122 pp. $2.75.

The first half of this book, that by Gerald W. Johnson, is, as the title of the whole suggests, the story of a shrine. Divided by the author into three parts, it is an absorbing account of an extraordinary undertaking. How a handful of people led by one woman rescued Mount Vernon from decay and made it what it is today is told in the author's entertaining style. He describes the persons most closely involved, and tells something of the almost unsurmountable problems they faced and the solutions they found and are finding still. Mr. Johnson emphasizes a viewpoint all too often neglected in accounts of things past, that of trying to see the situations in the light of their own times, and to judge them accordingly, rather than by present day standards.

The second half of the book consists of extracts from Washington's letters and diaries selected and annotated by Charles C. Wall, Superintendent of the estate. One is easily able to see how useful these sources were in the restoration of Mount Vernon. One could wish, perhaps, that more details were included, more explanatory notes, replies to some of the letters, etc. But that it not the purpose of this book. It may well stimulate readers to further study of what is only touched on here.

A thorough index completes this wholly satisfactory little volume.

NOTES AND QUERIES

TWO MONUMENTS TO SEVERN TEACKLE WALLIS

By Marvin C. Ross

Baltimore has two monuments to one of its distinguished citizens, a lawyer and man of letters, Severn Teackle Wallis (1816-1894).[1] The first of these is a composite affair, a rather unusual procedure, the origin of which is possibly worth recording. The second is an original monument about which infinite pains were taken as noted in the diaries and account books of George A. Lucas, a Baltimorean living in Paris, who acted as the "go-between" in arranging matters between the local committee and the French sculptor.

The first monument to Severn Teackle Wallis stands in the entrance to the Court House in Baltimore. The earliest mention of it by George A. Lucas is in his account book on April 13, 1897, when he noted that he had written about it to Henry Walters enclosing a letter from Barbédienne, the French bronze founder. His words are as follows, "Postage H. Walters, Barbédienne and my letter relative to Chapu figure with Bust Teackle Wallis." From the existing monument we know that these words meant that a bronze cast of "La Jeunesse," Chapu's (1833-1891) base for the monument to Henri Regnault (1843-1871) in the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, was to be surmounted with a bronze bust of Wallis cast from a plaster of Rinehart's marble bust now in the Peabody Institute. The monument was a considerable time in finishing for only in 1901 did Mr. Lucas note that it was ready. He went to see it together with Mr. Warfield of Baltimore who was in Paris at the time. Finally, on the 19th of September of that year Mr. Lucas gave Barbédienne instructions about shipping the monument to Baltimore and two days later paid the bill. In spite of the strange composite nature of the monument it is not without success in the place where it was erected.

The second monument to Severn Teackle Wallis was not a pastiche. The sculptor selected was Laurent Honoré Marqueste (1848-1920), a pupil of Jouffroy and Falguière who did many official commissions in France and whose work may be seen at the Louvre and on the façade of the Hotel de Ville in Paris and in many museums throughout France. He was a competent sculptor, but his preoccupation with mere form caused Chander R. Post in his history of modern sculpture to say that much of

[1] Brief descriptions are found in W. S. Rusk, *Art in Baltimore, Monuments and Memorials* (Baltimore, 1924), pp. 98-100.

his work lacks meaning. The architect selected to design the pedestal was Louis Bernier (born in 1845), a pupil of the École des Beaux-Arts. Bernier had already designed the Barye monument in Paris while Marqueste had been the sculptor who did the medallion in relief of Barye on the front face of the monument. George A. Lucas had been the chief instigator behind the erection of the Barye monument in Paris (1894) so that the collaboration of these three men was not a new thing.

The notations in the diaries and account books of George A. Lucas at the Peabody Library give us a picture of the many details involved in the overseeing of such a commission by a careful and painstaking man. The entries cover a long period from October, 1901, until November, 1906. The first model was not satisfactory although Lucas had loaned a volume of Wallis's writings with a portrait to Marqueste. Lucas then had W. H. Rinehart's plaster bust of Wallis sent from Barbédienne's (the bronze caster) to Marqueste, and a bundle of Wallis's clothes as well as photographs and an engraved portrait sent from America. The second model seen by several members of the Baltimore committee including Henry Walters, Frank Frick, and President Gilman of The Johns Hopkins University was finally approved and shipped to America.

This record of the making of the Wallis statue is possibly among the most complete that we have about the details involved in the ordering and overseeing the completion of a monument as simple as Marqueste's statue of Severn Teackle Wallis and is as such of considerable interest. The statue was first put up in front of The Walters Art Gallery but later, when Andrew O'Connor's equestrian statue of Lafayette was erected below the Washington Monument, it was removed to the east of Mount Vernon Place where it now stands. The reductions in bronze of the statue about which Mr. Lucas made inquiries at several bronze foundries in Paris seem never to have been executed.

The Walters Art Gallery possesses a small plaster model of the Wallis statue which like most models, being the first idea of the sculptor, seems much fresher and more lively than the finished bronze. It is in every detail like the bronze in Mount Vernon Square and so must be the second model mentioned in Mr. Lucas' notes. Pencilled on the base of the plaster is the following, "Marqueste Paris, 1904." There is no record at the Gallery when the model was acquired, but the pencilled date indicates possibly that Mr. Henry Walters acquired it on his visit to Marqueste in 1904 with Mr. Lucas.

Associate Editor—Mr. Francis C. Haber, who was Associate Editor in 1952 and 1953, has severed his connection with the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. His services were invaluable and are greatly missed by the Editor.

Carmichael, William—Unpublished letters to and from William Carmichael (d. 1795), of Queen Anne's Co., member of Continental Congress 1778-80 and chargé d'affaires in Madrid, Spain, 1782-94 are sought. Carmichael's daughter, Alphona C. (Mrs. James) Blake, who lived near Chestertown in the 1830s, petitioned Congress for recompense for her father's expenses while performing official duties at Madrid. Apparently she had her father's papers at that time. Who inherited the papers? Where are they now? Any help in this matter will be greatly appreciated by the Editor.

Chesapeake Beach Railway—Need information about the railway which operated between Washington, D. C., and Chesapeake Beach, Calvert Co. Also pictures, timetables, tickets, rosters of motive power and equipment, any personal anecdotes about trips over the line.

Henry S. Libby
4550 MacArthur Blvd., N. W., Washington 7, D. C.

The J. H. Furst Company, which has printed the *Maryland Historical Magazine* since its inception in 1906, this year completes its fiftieth year in business. We extend our felicitations and best wishes for another fifty. We have no doubt that, in this uncertain world, we can safely predict for the future the same pleasant relationship enjoyed by the Society and the Company for many years.

Liddell—Want information concerning James Liddell, who lived in New Castle Co., Del., ca. 1750-65, moved to S. C. ca. 1765, m. Esther (?), son Andrew b. New Castle Co. 1750. Also John Liddell, m. Rachel (?), son Wm. b. in Annapolis 3-10-1762, had brother Moses who moved to S. C. ca. 1767. Family name appears in St. Mary's Co. and Dorchester Cos. in 1720-40.

Frank B. Liddell
P. O. Box 2839, Memphis, Tenn.

McMahon—Request any information concerning name of Sarah, stepmother of John V. L. McMahon (1800-71). The widow of John I. Hayes (b. 1782, d. 9-4-1815 at Cumberland), she m. Jan., 1817, Wm. McMahon. A dau. of 2d marriage was Sarah Louisa McMahon who m. Clement L. Vallandingham on 8-27-1846.

R. G. Smith
487 Union Ave., Laconia, N. H.

Morgan and *Dowden*—Can anyone help me identify Alice Morgan, widow of Jarvis Morgan, Gent., and mother of Jarvis Morgan, Jr., who d. in 1698? Alice Morgan m. (2d) Wm. Roper, in 1675. They lived on South River, Anne Arundel Co., 1676-1691. Would also like ancestry of Wm. Roper, said to have been born ca. 1640, probably in Va. He was testator for Wm. Grant of Anne Arundel Co. in 1671.

Which of three Dowden brothers, John, Michael, or Thomas, was father of Thomas Dowden who m. Mary Davis, dau. of Wm. Davis of Frederick Co. and had son, Clementius Dowden, b. Jan. 11, 1762, in Prince George's Co.?

Mrs. Vernon L. LeMaster
282 Ardmore Circle, N. W., Atlanta, Ga.

Myers—Need names parents of Ann Myers, wife of Wm. Maslin III, b. 1736, m. (1st) Martha Glenn 1759, d. 1812. Wm. and Ann Myers Maslin lived at Gerardstown, Berkeley Co. (now W. Va.)

Mrs. Arthur Armstrong
2911 Chesley Ave., Baltimore 14.

Patrick—Wish information about John Patrick " of Baltimore County," whose daughter Mary m. on Dec. 5, 1776, at Gunpowder Meeting of Friends, Thomas Stockdale, son of William and Sarah Field Stockdale of Bucks Co., Pa. Thomas Stockdale m. 2d, about 1789, Amy Allen in Washington Co., Pa.

Malcolm H. Dill
633 Charles Street Avenue, Towson 4.

Tener—Would like information on Henry Jackson Tener, b. 1786, m. Sarah Thomas, moved to Va.; Henry Tener mustered in Flying Camp, 7-13-1776, Frederick Co.; and Jacob Tener m. Catherine Perton in 1797 in Balto. Co., children Jonathan, Betsy, George, Salome, and others.

Mrs M. H. Davis
1233 West 63rd Terrace, Kansas City, Mo.

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

Comment on A Recent Review

Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921.*

Your September issue (XLVIII, 243-244) contained a review of my biography of Cardinal Gibbons by David S. Sparks of the University of Maryland. The second paragraph of the review might easily convey the impression to readers unfamiliar with the cardinal's life that in practically everything that pertained to the Church in the United States, he opposed the policies of the Holy See. Such an impression would be quite false. Oppose the Holy See he certainly did at times when he felt the best interests of the Church in this country demanded it, but to suggest that Gibbons generally entertained an anti-Roman bias in his policies would be a grave injustice to the deep sense of fealty and love which he always felt for the Papacy as the center to which he owed his spiritual allegiance.

The sentence with which the paragraph is introduced is likewise decidedly not true. It reads: "Throughout his career Cardinal Gibbons insisted he was a citizen first and a prelate second" (p. 243). Nowhere in all the many sources pertaining to his long and active career can one find anything to so much as suggest such a sentiment on the part of the cardinal, and nowhere in the two volumes of his biography is such a view advanced. Where Mr. Sparks acquired an interpretation of this kind remains a mystery to me. Cardinal Gibbons was always a sterling American citizen, but he never once suggested that the love and loyalty he owed to his country took precedence over the loyalty he owed to his Church and his spiritual superiors.

Rev. John Tracy Ellis
Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mrs. Robert S. Peabody, a great granddaughter of Governor Lee, has devoted much time to the arrangement of his correspondence before giving it to the public, and is the author of several monographs on other branches of the family. ☆ Mr. Bierck teaches history at the University of North Carolina. ☆ Mrs. Raymond B. Clark, Sr., who lives at St. Michaels, and is a lineal descendant of the Kerseys, is a native of Talbot County long interested in local history and genealogy. ☆ Mr. Clark, a former contributor, holds an M. A. degree from the University of Pennsylvania and has recently accepted a fellowship at the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum. ☆ Mr. Swanson, novelist and author of *The Perilous Fight*, is a member of the Council of the Society.

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Hayes, Montgomery County,
Built by Rev. Alexander Williamson, ca. 1767.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

June · 1954

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—The skiff *William H. Niemeyer* defeated the log canoe *Island Belle* in a race of 23 miles on the Patapsco—August 7.

—Allegany County Court House at Cumberland dedicated—August 30

—The Music Hall, now the Lyric Theatre, Baltimore, was opened—October 31

—General William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, spoke at the Music Hall (Lyric)—November 6

—C. Morton Stewart became president of the Roland Park Company—November 19

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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CONTENTS

PAGE

Hayes, A Montgomery County House
Dunlop, Dunlop, and *Leisenring* 89

Baltimore: New Light on an Old Name *Hamill Kenny* 116

Revolutionary Mail Bag: II Edited by *Helen Lee Peabody* 122

Spoils, Soils, and Skinner: II . . *Harold A. Bierck, Jr.* 143

Reviews of Recent Books 156

Notes and Queries 164

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

H. IRVINE KEYSER MEMORIAL BUILDING

201 W. MONUMENT STREET, BALTIMORE 1

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
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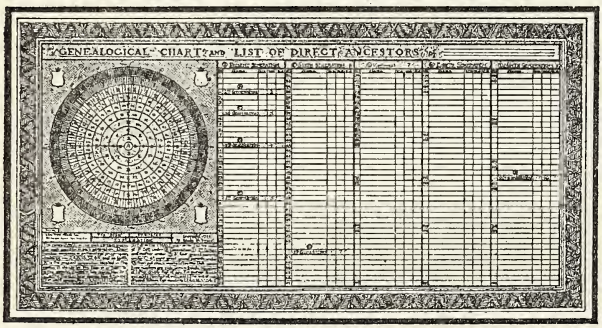

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HAYES, A MONTGOMERY COUNTY HOUSE

By G. Thomas Dunlop, A. McCook Dunlop, and L. Morris Leisenring

The "Mansion House"

NOT far beyond the northwest boundary of the District of Columbia there is a fine old Georgian mansion built long before a federal district had been thought of.[1] Secluded then and secluded now, one finds it only by direction, standing in what was once part of a large plantation and is still sufficient to shield it from public gaze.[2] Here on high ground among centuries old trees, well massed shrubbery, and with a beautiful old garden, it dominates the later wings, making with them a delightful com-

[1] A brief account of the house and its occupants is found in Roger B. Farquhar, *Historic Montgomery County* (Silver Spring, 1952), pp. 184-185.

[2] Entrace to the property is through either one of two gateways with their stone trimmed piers and wrought iron gates, opening from Manor Road, a roadway winding up from Connecticut Avenue two miles beyond Chevy Chase Circle where there is an old boundary stone on the line between Maryland and the District of Columbia.

position in spite of—or perhaps because of—entire disregard of the traditional five-part symmetrical plan so frequent in Maryland and Virginia.

" Hayes " is an unusual name for a Maryland homestead, chosen as it was without relation to family, local character, or land patents. The house, built in the 1760's on a tract of 700 acres, was an unusual building for its time and location in the then Frederick (now Montgomery) County, away from the architectural influences of the Bay and river structures of the earlier settled counties of the Province. Unusual also was its building by a clergyman, the Reverend Alexander Williamson, with his own funds, of which no previous instance in the Province comes to mind.

The life history of Alexander Williamson gives a fascinating and significant picture of the relation of the clergy to the era. Born and raised in All Saints Parish, Calvert County, he must have known simpler types of buildings and even later, when he served as curate of Saint Anne's, Annapolis, the great houses of the capital had not yet put on Georgian formality. His introduction to the full-flowered Georgian was evidently during his visits to England as a student and finally as the recipient of Holy Orders. His house reflected in its design his associations abroad whence he brought not only the style but the name of his home and acres.

" Hayes " was the name of the home of the Earl of Chatham, William Pitt the elder, Prime Minister of England, and champion in Parliament of the rights of the American colonies during the critical period prior to the Revolution.[3] It was adopted by Alexander Williamson when in 1762 he bought approximately 700 acres of Clean Drinking Manor—which he named " Hayes "—and built the house which was to be his home until his death in 1786. " Hayes " it remained throughout the years until the present owner, to avoid confusion and to perpetuate the manorial origin adopted the name " Hayes Manor."

[3] It seems evident that Williamson named his homestead from admiration of the man, Pitt, rather than from architectural acquaintance. Lord Roseberry in his *Lord Chatham* (New York, 1910), pp. 282-285, states that Pitt did not own or occupy *his* " Hayes," near Bromley, Kent, England, until the spring of 1756. Williamson's last visit to England had ended in January of that year. No information is at hand as to the derivation of the name of the Kent estate nor of its architectural style. The earlier Hayes of Sir Walter Raleigh in Devonshire, had (in 1757, previous to Mr. Williamson's Hayes), given its name to the plantation of John Rieusett at Edenton, North Carolina.

The history of Hayes with its "Mansion House," so designated on the old plat accompanying the deed to James Dunlop in 1796, covers two distinct periods of ownership; the *first*, from November, 1762, when the "moiety" of Clean Drinking Manor was purchased by Williamson from Robert Yates; the *second*, from October, 1792, when it was sold at auction by Williamson's executors in accordance with his will and purchased by James Dunlop.[4] Since then five generations of his direct descendants have occupied the home. Each period of ownership has its architectural as well as its genealogical associations and its interests in the old house and plantation.

The original building is a simple rectangle in plan, 45 feet wide, 36 feet deep, two full stories high crowned with an unpierced gable roof, the whole beautifully proportioned in mass, refined but vigorous in its details. Williamson had been installed as curate in 1761 of the growing and important parish of Prince George's, Frederick, and soon was elevated to rector. Thus established but evidently not willing to be restricted to the hundred acres of glebe lands which surrounded the then primitive frame chapel and rectory,[5] and having private funds, he purchased this plantation of beautifully rolling and tillable lands. From the first he must have considered building for there were tempting sites on his new property but no records exist as to when or by whom his house was planned, his building materials collected, his foundations dug. It was finished by 1766 or 1767 for in the latter year he brought there his bride, Elizabeth, daughter of the prominent and wealthy Dr. William Lyon, of Baltimore.

[4] The 1,400 acres that form "Clean Drinking Manor" were taken up in 1680 and surveyed and patented in 1699 by John Couts of England, whose daughter Elizabeth married Charles Jones, Gentleman in 1750, by which time the old manor house was built. This stood not far from the meandering Rock Creek and about a good mile north of what is now the District of Columbia boundary line. Mr. Jones built the mill on the creek and the bridge that gave the names to Jones Mill Road and Jones Bridge Road, names still used for today's highways. The old house was well known to one of the writers (L. M. L.) who had the opportunity to talk several times to the last Mr. Jones who lived alone in the old place as long as his and the house's physical condition permitted. The house was long and low and narrow with two large first floor rooms each with an entrance door from the long porch, one said to be for family and one for manorial administration. Low ceiled bed rooms were under the roof. Dependencies and quarters were to the north and a garden with giant boxwood to the south, all neglected and falling to ruin. There was a time when it might have been saved. The name has been a tradition since its earliest days, of a clear cold spring famous in the neighborhood.

[5] Circular published by the Parish "Historical Sketch of Rock Creek Parish," kindly furnished by Vestryman Ernest F. Henry.

It would be interesting to know if the design of Hayes had been influenced by his prospective bride and her father in view of their Baltimore associations. At least one building comparable to Hayes had been built there—the quite Georgian "Mount Clare" that Charles Carroll, Barrister, was reconstructing from his father's earlier "Patapsco." [6] Dr. Lyon and the Barrister were both prominent figures in Baltimore and the unpretentious Hayes and the larger and more elaborate Mount Clare had certain elements of similarity. Considering the architectural excellence of these two Georgian buildings it is remarkable that neither of them has been so much as mentioned by the authors of histories of colonial American architecture, though they antedate many of the buildings dwelt on with extended critical analysis.

When Hayes was built the lands of Frederick County bordered the frontier and the early homes were those of pioneers, often built of logs or quarry stones with larger units added as families grew and other building materials became available. Montgomery is rich in the descendants of these architectural ancestors, often charming in their form and combined materials. But Hayes moved into this neighborhood, completely integrated and precisely planned, taking no notice of the earlier settlers or of its nearest neighbors, "Chevy Chase" or "Clean Drinking Manor," both frame houses with broad sweeping roofs, great free-standing chimneys and the simplest of details.[7] Not even in the new George Town only five miles away was there much of the true Georgian style in buildings that antedated Hayes. One wonders at Williamson's building at such a distance from his glebe and chapel, almost five miles as the crow flies and much farther by

[6] See Lilian Giffen, "Mount Clare," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLII (1947), 29-34, and Howland and Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 6-8.

The basic plan of Mount Clare has the same scheme as Kenmore and Hayes and the later Hammond-Harwood, that is—two principal rooms directly connected and facing on the garden, a central entrance hall with two main entrances on the buildings' central axis, the entrance hall flanked by minor rooms, except that at Mount Clare the two main rooms are of such importance that they dwarf the entrance hall and prevent a stair in it but move the stair to one side, placing the functional side entrances, one in the office, one *under the stair* landing to serve from the kitchen wing to the dining room. There is a most interesting matter of detail,—the entire garden front wall is of all header brickwork, as are both main fronts at Hayes.

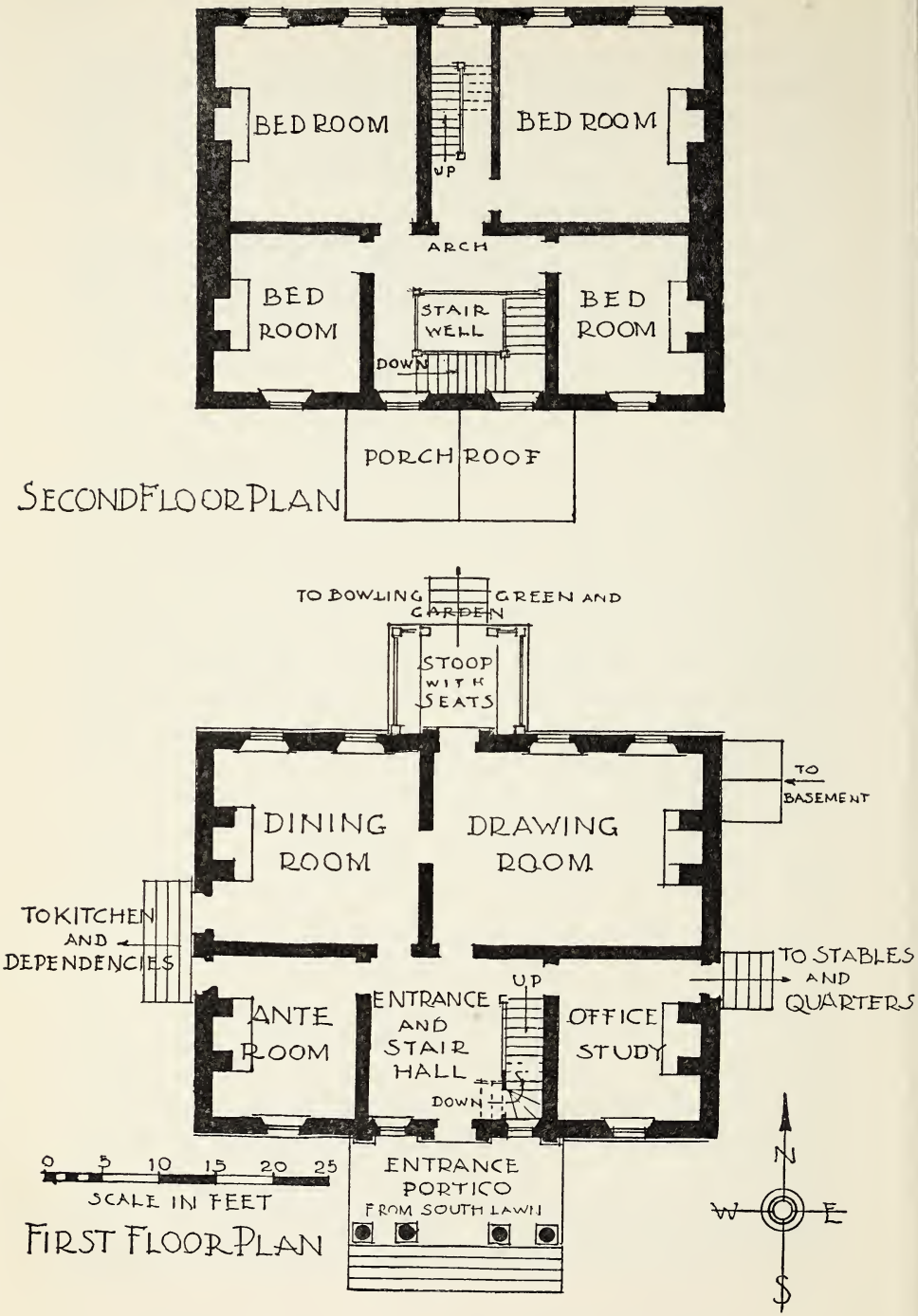
[7] Chevy Chase, an early patented tract of land just beyond the present District of Columbia, Colonel Joseph Belt, patentee. The old frame house long the home of the Bradley family, built about 1755, incorporated as a part of the Chevy Chase Country Club and later burned. See Farquhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.

way of the circuitous roads, with Rock Creek to be crossed by bridge or ford. Even now with the glebe developed as Washington's well known Rock Creek Cemetery, the old frame chapel become the fine brick Saint Paul's Church, Rock Creek Parish, and with modern street developments, the way from Hayes to the church is long and indirect.

The house stands on high ground gently sloping to the south, east, and west. It is of brick of the finest quality and workmanship. Its floor framing is supported by thick brick partition walls extending through from the foundations to the floor of the unfinished attic. On both main floors are two large, two smaller rooms, and a broad stair hall.

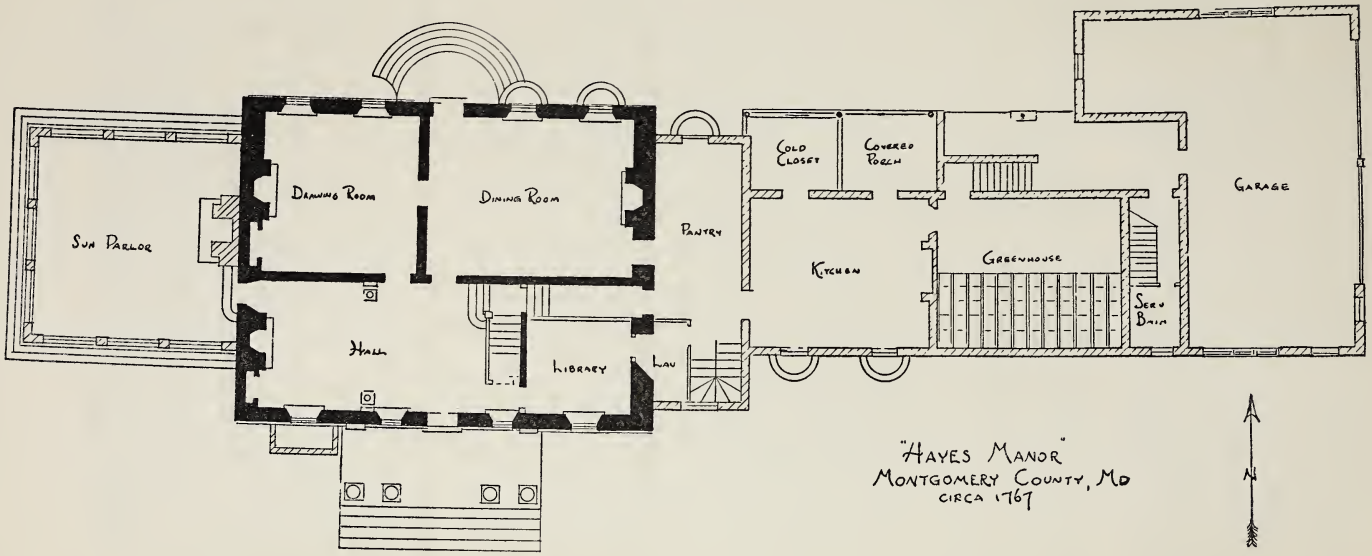
To the west of the house were the kitchens and other dependencies and to the east were the barns, stables, and the quarters. Minor entrances were to the two smaller side rooms and an unusual one direct into the dining room in the west wall from the kitchen area. The main entrances in the north and south fronts were according to tradition, not approached by driveways but gave on the north to the bowling green and gardens and on the south direct to lawns sloping to the meadows. The approach driveway must have come in from the old Jones Mill road that bordered the north of the property. Now an entrance drive from the south and one from the west deliver at the south porch and at the modern extensions and dependencies to the east. All of the original dependencies, except the old smoke house, have disappeared.

To accomplish the particularly fine brickwork master masons must have been at work. Both the north and south facades were laid with all header brick showing and the end walls had headers every fourth course with three stretcher courses between, making a strong horizontal and very pleasing tie-in between the main facades. All exterior walls were of quarry stone up to grade and brick above. The interior supporting walls that establish the room sizes are one and a half brick thick, laid with the strong English bond from foundation to attic. The treatment of the brickwork at the window openings is extremely interesting. At every jamb a full stretcher and a header alternate but on the south these have been rubbed to show a smoother surface and lighter color, as have also the splayed brick forming a flat arch at the window heads, while on the north facade, the jamb brick and the arch brick have been left their natural surfaces. The north window heads have



FLOOR PLANS OF HAYES AS CONSTRUCTED CIRCA 1767

Drawn by L. Morris Leisenring



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF HAYES, 1954

Original house shown in black.

Drawn by A. McCook Dunlop

a segmental arch of splayed brick with a level top coursing with the surrounding brickwork. At every window, including the heads of basement openings, this variation in detail has been carried out between the south and north facades and raises the question whether different masons laid them. Here it should be noted that in all window openings in the modern extensions, the bricks have been carefully chosen to match the originals and that jambs and heads have been carefully rubbed to match those of the original house.

Granting that a clergyman would build his house economically, it is notable that there was wise choice of substantial construction and excellence of necessary materials as against ornament or items that were not required. One item of rather extreme economy is the total absence of cut stone, as ornament, at door and window sills, or in the entrance steps. Neither was stone used for the elaborate heavily projecting quoins, or for the heads and keys at both main doors. These are a build-up of very hard cement-like mortar, originally the color of sand-stone, now covered with many layers of paint. They are the only substitutions in the use of materials apparent here and may have been an after consideration, as the quoins do not all course with their surrounding brickwork. They are, however, a great addition to the general design.

The design and quality of workmanship of all the woodwork, both exterior and interior, is of the best and evidently the product of a well organized shop. In the cornices that extend the width of both main fronts, every element is in perfect scale and relation, with a happy use of bracket form modillions. There are no windows in the side walls other than two small ones in each gable end to light the attic. Those in the main fronts are well disposed both as to their room relation and facade composition. All are six lights high and four lights wide, except two in the south front which were two lights wide until changed much later to diamond shaped panes. All have inside shutters folding into panelled wall recesses, with broad trim extending to the floor, and have under-sill window seats typically in style. The outside window shutters are a modern addition.

It is difficult to accept as original, the elaborate south entrance portico, with its fluted columns and Greek form of Ionic capitals, especially for such a modest building as Hayes, and of this period and locality. Other contemporary examples of more simple porti-

cos, with unfluted columns, were not uncommon in mid-Atlantic colonies, but not of such rich detail. However, it must be said that the cornice details chime well with those of the main cornices and that the portico in its general effect is not particularly reminiscent of the Greek Revival or of the Early Federal that captivated the nearby national capital early in the succeeding century. Historically there seems to have been no reason why the original owner, Williamson, should have made such an addition before his death in 1786, and there is no record of its addition by any of the ancestors of the present owner. Further, the old wood porch floor was recently removed and replaced with flagstones over cement and the entire width of the foundation wall below the old floor was found to be of rough unfinished brickwork, apparently never having been exposed to view.

At the north or garden entrance there was the traditional wooden stoop with built in bench seats, uncovered but otherwise similar to a popular feature of old Annapolis houses. This was removed years ago. Both main facades have the usual brick water-table projection at floor level, a straight set-back on the north, with moulded bricks on the south. Both facades have a three brick projecting band course at the second floor level.

Few of the original framing timbers are now exposed. The simple floor plan with all joists bearing on masonry and of no great span, required timbers of only moderate size. Those exposed in the unfinished attic are the rafters, resting directly on the front and rear brick walls without plate or ridge beam, tennoned, pinned, and sometimes nailed at the crown, some hewn, some pit sawn, some oak, some pine, all about five inches square. As the roof is a straight gable from end to end without the single or double hips so often used in larger houses, no trusses or braced framing timbers were necessary. There was little use of mortise and tennon work or of wood pins but an unusually plentiful supply of large hand wrought nails. Before the first floor joists had been covered by the present basement ceiling material, these were found to be $5'' \times 9''$, hewn and a number of them of walnut. As no special framing was used none of the timbers bear the identifying numbers usual with trussed work.

There were fireplaces in all eight rooms of the main floors with flues racked over to the one chimney at the center of the end gables. The fireplaces remain but have been relined and refaced.

Although there was the full basement, there seem to have been no flues or heating facilities for it. The original mantels remain, all of excellent design but without ornament except that in the old drawing room (the present dining room) which has a vigorous Wall of Troy frieze, and that in the old dining room which has a very unusual and effective pattern of a center band guilloche with the upper and lower elements of a Greek fret above and below it. The center block panels of the old mantels in the west ante room and the east office have had ornament applied at a later date.

The walls of the first floor rooms and stair hall were originally free of panelling but had baseboard, chair rail—a wide flat moulded type—and very satisfactory wood cornices on both floors, though there is some question as to the originality of these. There are now furred out spaces at the sides of all chimney breasts, both up and down stairs, a shallow closet in each room, which might well be original but are remembered as later additions. All old doors have their original hardware, generally with L or H hinges and a number with hinge plates covered by the surface wood of door and trim.

The fine stair hall rises symmetrically through the two stories, lighted by two balanced windows on each floor. On the upper floor, opposite to these, on axis, is an arch with impost, archivolt and key, that opened originally to a finished stairway leading to the unfinished attic, but now to a modern bath room. The main stairway with its walnut balusters and rails, was not done justice by its installation, for it was crowded in its effort to reach from floor to floor, and with treads $10\frac{3}{8}''$ and risers $7''$ was rather steeper than might be desired. In plan, in order to provide circulation from the east side entrance to the stair hall, the run to the first landing and from there to the second floor, left clearance of less than 5 feet for the only way from the interior of the house to the basement by steps under the first flight. Likewise, the main entrance door from the south portico, with its trim cut through at the corner, had barely room to open. To be sure this general condition was not unusual in colonial houses of similar plan, but the actual condition here was acute, and the stair was modified some years ago. The steps first rose straight from a vertical newel as shown on the plan before alteration, and with one change in direction at the first landing, reached the second floor, carrying the

rail and balusters around the generous stair well. The balusters were not closely spaced but were large and square at base with room for only two to each tread. They were finely turned, with the vase and collonette reminiscent of the best of their type.[8]

For a house as well planned, finely proportioned and detailed as the original Hayes, its architectural authorship should be a matter of record. But like so many of its contemporaries there is not a shred of documentary evidence to name the architect who designed it nor of the builder who erected it, both of whom should have credit for such good work. "Architects Anonymous" is an alliterative phrase that has recently been going the rounds of the profession, due to the frequent absence of proper credit given in published announcements and illustrations, to the authors of creditable structures. Surely this could be applied to the unknown men of the profession who designed these colonial buildings with such charm that we desire to preserve and restore them. In Baltimore, to which town Hayes may be considered to be related by marriage, there is no record of the architect of the contemporary Mount Clare, nor even of the later Homewood, of which Mr. Paul says in his descriptive pamphlet "The architect is unknown—*if there was one.*"[9]

We may assume that the plan of Hayes represents the evolution of the early type of provincial house, still to be seen in examples like "Sandgates" and St. Richards Manor," as modified by the fashionable Georgian style then greatly in vogue.[10]

If we look for an architect as author or adviser the house itself must be our manuscript with considerations given to Williamson's possible and probable contacts. We get no help from his father-in-law's fellow townsman, Charles Carroll, Barrister, for there is no record of an architect for Mount Clare.[11] The late T. T. Water-

[8] Although greater depth of hallways gave greater head room in larger houses, this type of stair was used in much finer homes as at "Mount Vernon," "Carter's Grove," and "Westover," where one main entrance was under the stair run. At "Harewood" and "Saras Creek," houses comparable in size to Hayes, the head room was little more, both of these starting with straight runs up to to a single landing platform just as at Hayes, and cutting the door trim corner.

[9] J. G. D. Paul, *The History of Homewood* (Baltimore, n. d.)

[10] H. C. Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, 1934), for "Sandgates" and "St. Richards," where the steep stairs rise with winders the reverse direction from Hayes, and "Woodlawn" and "The Plains," both in St. Mary's where they rise toward the entrance door as at Hayes.

[11] To date none of the Barrister's notes or inventories have been found that mention an architects's services for Mount Clare.

man in his *The Dwellings of Colonial America* has brought forward the name of John Ariss, a man of English training and wide local experience, in connection with such a type of plan, naming "Ratcliffe Manor" and "Pleasant Valley" in Maryland and "Kenmore" in Virginia as probably his. Into this type of plan, both Hayes and Mount Clare would fall. Waterman ascribes the use of this to Ariss's familiarity with William Adams's *Vitruvius Scoticus*.[12] Some years later, William Buckland, the accomplished joiner and carver, having arrived at full architectural status, used this basic plan in an elaborated design for the splendid Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis, indulging to the full his delight in richly carved ornament. He had worked with and for the older Ariss and had had some architectural work in and around the new town of Dumfries, where the Hayes type plan had not been used but where the use of all-header brickwork seems to associate his name with the brickwork of Hayes. However, with the entire lack of carved ornament that he invariably used it is hard to see him as the governing force at Hayes. The only carved work there is the flat conventional work in two mantel friezes and the conventional Ionic capitals of the portico columns and the originally simple step ends at the stairway.[13]

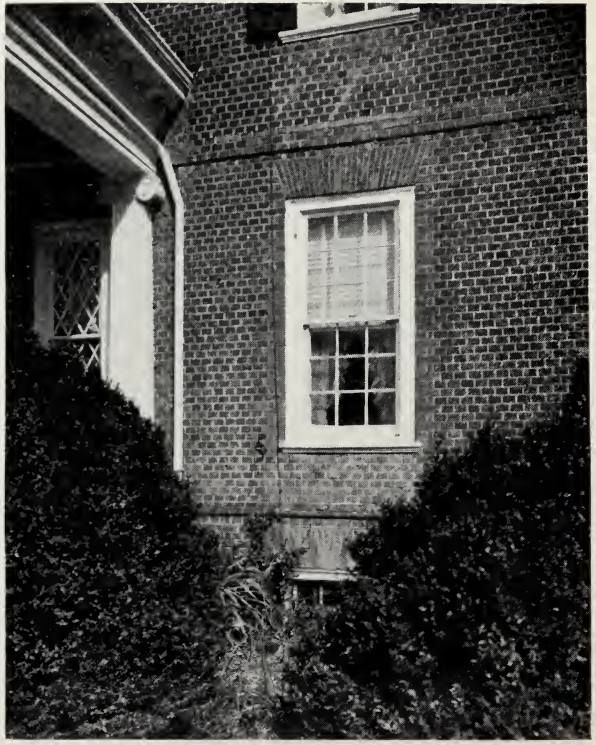
With plan and style then as controlling factors, Kenmore at Fredericksburg, attributed to John Ariss, would be Hayes's most probable ancestor, larger but of exact relative proportions as to width and length (Hayes 36×45—Kenmore 40×52 feet in round numbers), much more elaborate as to interior decor but with similar room arrangement upstairs and down with brick supporting walls from end to end. Both houses have entrances at the center of their main facades and two through the end walls to reach their dependencies. Both have formal porches on their gar-

[12] On page 308 of *Mansions of Virginia* Waterman illustrates the plan of Hamilton Hall House, Edinburgh, Scotland, from *Vitruvius Scoticus* together with plans of Menokin, Richmond County, and Kenmore, Fredericksburg, suggesting Hamilton Hall as the key plan for these Virginia houses. The basic plan scheme is not the same as to room use or through circulation from front to garden and from sides to dependencies. *Vitruvius Scoticus* was undoubtedly used with great effect for style and detail, but the plan scheme seems to have grown from early colonial roots.

[13] The work of William Buckland, joiner, carver, and finally architect, is referred to in Waterman's *Mansions of Virginia*, pp. 223-236; by Rosamond Randall Beirne in "William Buckland, Architect of Virginia and Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLI (1946), 199-218; and Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (New York, 1952), pp. 390-400.

THE GARDEN FRONT OF HAYES

Photos (except as indicated) by Thomas F. Scott



CONTRASTING DETAIL IN BRICK WORK OF WINDOWS NORTH AND SOUTH FACADES

THE GARDEN AT HAYES

THE STAIRWAY AS REDESIGNED

Stairway as Originally Built

From an Old Photograph

Mantel in Original White Parlor, Now Dining Room

The Central Archway on the Second Floor of the Stair Hall

Mantel in Original Dining Room, Now Drawing Room

den fronts. Hayes has much superior brickwork and window placement, and its centrally placed stair hall, in spite of the noted defect in headroom, is finer than Kenmore's.

For some time before the construction of Hayes, John Ariss had had clients in the Northern Neck of Virginia and William Buckland had a well established shop of carpenters, joiners, and carvers there. They had worked together, both with fine architectural libraries and backgrounds. Ariss, the elder, was looking toward work in western Virginia counties. Buckland was looking northward toward Annapolis and an architect's practice. It seems quite possible that with a plan and design by Ariss, with fine but unadorned wood-work from Buckland's shop, and perhaps some other influences from the younger man, Williamson may have had at Hayes a sublimate of the professional skill of the two best qualified men of their day and area.

The Dunlops and Hayes

James Dunlop's ledgers [14] which begin in 1792 disclose quite definitely that at the latest he was by this time in possession of and operating Hayes, and it is quite likely that he had made arrangements with the executors for its occupancy and use shortly after Williamson's death so that the heirs might have the usufruct or income in place of occupancy. Indeed, a memorandum in his own handwriting shows that he anticipated such a course, for it shows he deposited with the executors earnest money in evidence of his intentions to purchase the plantation and house at the sale provided for in the will.

Such a desire for early possession and occupancy on the part of James Dunlop is quite understandable when one considers his background. He had been born heir of the Scotch Barony of Garnkirk with a beautiful mansion house built in 1634 on the ruins of a former house of which his father, James Dunlop, Sr., was the 4th laird of the same name. He had many younger brothers and sisters. An older cousin, Robert Peter of a neighboring estate, Crossbasket Castle, had come to America and settled at Georgetown in 1751 and had acquired a considerable fortune in exporting tobacco and other products of the land.

At the age of sixteen James Dunlop evidently decided that

[14] In the Maryland Historical Society.

there was little future in a Scotch barony for an enterprising young man and himself came to New York in 1771, where he remained during the Revolution, after which, in 1783, he also came to Georgetown and established himself, and prospered in business. In 1787, at the age of thirty-two, he married his sixteen-year-old cousin Elizabeth Peter, daughter of Robert Peter.

This was less than a year after the death of his friend and neighbor Alexander Williamson. In fact, on December 22, 1785, he had witnessed Alexander Williamson's will which provided for the sale of the Hayes property. It requires little imagination to picture this young man, successful in business, with this background, just married and looking forward to a family of his own, seizing this opportunity to acquire the Hayes property. It reminded him of his Garnkirk in Scotland; the plantation would produce for him the tobacco, grain, and other crops which he could export, along with such other crops as he was already producing at " Cider and Ginger," a plantation he had acquired near Poolesville in Montgomery County, but which was more remote from the port of Georgetown, his base of operations. And then, too, he would be near enough to Georgetown to live at Hayes at least a part of the year.

This motive for the purchase of the Hayes plantation with its Georgian house seems the more realistic when we realize that James Dunlop acquired a home in Georgetown where his father-in-law, Robert Peter, built, as a wedding present to his daughter, a handsome house on High Street, now 1239 Wisconsin Avenue, a short distance above Robert Peter's own extensive property. Indeed, James Dunlop lived, at least in the winter months, and reared his large family in this Georgetown house. It seems quite certain that Hayes was only the family's summer home until after his death in 1823.

James Dunlop owned and occupied Hayes at least from 1792 to his death in 1823, during which time three of his sons were educated at Princeton, then the College of New Jersey, graduating in the classes of 1811, 1813, and 1815. His youngest son, Henry, grandfather of the present owner, was denied a Princeton education by circumstances brought about by the War of 1812. His father died when he was about 23 years old. Henry continued to live with his mother until he married, in 1834, Catherine Thomas, daughter of Col. John Thomas, of " Montevue," Frederick County,

and sister of Gov. Francis Thomas of Maryland. He bought property adjoining Montevue where he lived until his death in 1877.

At the death of Elizabeth Dunlop, widow of James Dunlop, in 1837, about half of the Hayes estate, including the house, was acquired by Robert Peter Dunlop, the second son, by purchase from the other heirs. Helen, a daughter of James and Elizabeth, married William Laird and their son, William, Jr., in 1869 acquired the property by purchase on the death of Robert Peter Dunlop. It was at the death of the younger Laird, William, Jr., without issue, that Hayes came into the possession in 1892 of George T. Dunlop, son of Colonel Henry Dunlop and father of G. Thomas Dunlop, the present owner, who inherited it in 1908. Since 1823 it has been in the possession of a son, grandson, or great grandson of James Dunlop, Sr.

The other half of the Hayes plantation had been purchased by the eldest son, James, who was practicing law in Georgetown in partnership with Francis Scott Key. He married Barbara Laird, sister to the elder William Laird, and afterwards became Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia.

During the ownership of William Laird, Jr., the plantation land, with the exception of twenty-five acres on which the house is located, was sold to Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada for the Chevy Chase Land Co., from which the Columbia Country Club acquired the land on which its club house and golf course are situated, adjoining Hayes.

The only change made by the Dunlop family until the time that George T. Dunlop purchased it was the addition of a small kitchen wing on the east end to replace a kitchen dependency to the west which had burned many years before. This dependency had apparently been connected to the main building by a colonnade, as was evidenced by the remains of a stone foundation and a bricked-up door in the west wall of the main house. The dining room was afterwards " swapped " with the " white parlor " in the northeast corner when the kitchen wing was built on the east end. The old kitchen foundation and the bricked-up door were plainly visible in the memory of the present owner. There was no door, as now, leading from the present dining room to the kitchen wing; access was only through the small room in the southeast corner. The present passageway leading from the pantry to the main

stairway was partitioned off at a later date. Also, at some time after the destruction of the kitchen dependency by fire, presumably shortly before the Civil War, a typically Victorian porch had been added to the west end of the main house, which was promptly removed when the property came to the present ownership.

When George T. Dunlop, Sr. acquired the property he added the bath room on the second floor. As he intended to occupy the house only during the summer months, no other conveniences were added at that time. In 1899 he replaced the inappropriate and inadequate kitchen wing (that many years before had replaced the original kitchen dependency), with the present wing which contains kitchen, pantry; and two bedrooms and bath on the second floor.

It is evident that careful architectural supervision was given to this new wing, and the recollection of the present owner is that the rebuilding of the main stairway was done at that time. Here surely is the work of a skilled architect, for, using the original newel, balusters and rail pattern, the stairs were raised the height of four risers and a lower landing built. This gave access under the second landing to the office direct from the hall and to the wing basement stair. Using extended step end panels with seemingly new step-end brackets, which in a series of cymas form the free stair string over the entrance door, this change is beautifully carried out. The then young Walter Peter, cousin of the owner, and just three years out of his architectural school was the architect, and here, as in all his later work, he showed his exquisite taste.

Later in 1908, after the death of George T. Dunlop, Sr., Mr. Peter, for the present owner, designed the harmonious west wing which replaced the Victorian porch which was entirely out of keeping with the original structure. Also a green-house and garage on the east connecting with the kitchen wing.

Another architectural change made at this time was the removal of a wall which separated the entrance hall from the "breakfast" room, thus enlarging and greatly enhancing the appearance of the hall. Mr. Peter accomplished this by substituting for the dividing wall a boxed beam under the ceiling supported at each end by an Ionic column and pilaster.

The original planting of the grounds and gardens surrounding the house have been developed with quantities of English and

American box propagated from the many old plants existing on the place, together with old-fashioned roses, lilacs, peonies and other shrubs and plants, including a very large Maiden's Blush rose which was planted a century and a half ago by the first mistress of Hayes. The perfectly level lawn at the rear of the house was originally graded and used as a bowling green and has been since preserved intact, together with the old set of bowling balls found in the attic.

At the west side of this lawn is a very large and unusual English box, twenty-seven feet across. Across the lawn to the south of the house stands an enormous English elm, said by tree experts to be one of the two largest in the country. Many ancient forest trees also survive. A circular driveway which terminated the entrance roadway from the west gate has been restored with its old carriage block.

The old furniture which is still in the house was probably purchased by James Dunlop from the executors of Alexander Williamson at an auction which was held October 23, 1787, as it was sold to a "ready money purchaser" and James Dunlop had deposited $5,000 as earnest money of his intention to purchase Hayes when it became available. The inventory lists made at the time of the sale describe the furnishings and all correspond closely with similar pieces which have been continuously in the house at Hayes since James Dunlop's time. Included amongst these pieces are a three-piece Sheraton dining room table and sideboard, a large number of Chippendale chairs, Hepplewhite settees and matching chairs, Windsor chairs, four-poster beds, chests of drawers, mirrors, and many other pieces of that period.

Williamson, The Builder of Hayes

In the past much has been written about the colonial clergy. Most writers take the position that the quality of the men sent to Maryland and Virginia under the aegis of the Church of England was poor, and that this situation especially applied to Maryland. It is conceded by all that most clergymen sent to the province were upright men, in spite of the fact that the morals of some were questioned. It is inevitable that under such conditions many innocent men were swept into the maelstrom of false accusations

and into the web of still more insidious innuendo. Such a man was the builder of Hayes, third rector of Prince George's Parish.[15]

Alexander Williamson was born in Calvert County about 1727, one of a family of six sons and one daughter, children of the Rev. James and Elizabeth Boyce Williamson, and nephew of Rev. Alexander Williamson, rector of St. Paul's Parish, Kent.[16] His father, James Williamson, was rector of Shrewsbury Parish, Kent, from 1713 to 1722, when he was inducted rector of All Saint's Parish, Calvert.[17] He remained at this post until his retirement in 1761 [18] and died in 1769. At the time of his death he was a man of considerable means.[19] Here, through mistaken identity, probably lies the seat of the misunderstanding of the character of Alexander Williamson. There is no necessity of confusing the identities of the two men. The father, James Williamson, is reported to have been a man of little character [20] and is charged by the Rev. Giles Rainsford with being "lewd, drunken, and an original at swearing," [21] and it is reported that he was to be brought to ecclesiastical trial for his irregularities and "scandalous conduct," [22] but if so, the outcome is in doubt as no further record can be located.[23] The Rev. Christopher Wilkinson, Commissary, further characterized him as "an Idiot and a Tory." [24] James Williamson, whatever his character, was cleared of at least one accusation of irregularities, as, while rector of Shrewsbury Parish, a letter to him from the Rev. Christopher Wilkinson, Commissary,

[15] To set the record straight, we have availed ourselves of all pertinent public and private records that could be found. We are especially grateful to the custodians of these records and to members of the Chesley and Lyon families for their help in gathering obscure data and without whose assistance the task would have been impossible.

[16] H. F. Thompson, "A List of the Clergy of the Church of England in Maryland, before 1775" (unpublished MS, Md. Hist. Soc.).

[17] F. L. Weis, *Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia* (1950), p. 70.

[18] Henry J. Berkley, "Episcopal Churches and Parishes of Maryland before 1775," unpublished MS, Md. Hist. Soc.

[19] Wills 20, f. 825, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[20] *Archives of Maryland*, IX, 236.

[21] W. S. Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Maryland* (1878), p. 233.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] N. W. Rightmyer, "The Character of the Anglican Clergy of Colonial Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV (Dec., 1949), 246. The author calls James Williamson, James Wilkinson, an error since corrected. He discusses the accusations and comments of the Rev. Giles Rainsford and Commissary Wilkinson and concludes that in their minds every man who was not a Whig and an Englishman was a rascal. James Williamson was a Scot.

[24] Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

was recorded in the Vestry Minutes of October 10, 1721, requesting his presence at the consecration of St. Luke's Church, and at the same time advising him that certain charges had been placed against him. His vestrymen and church wardens answered the letter and categorically denied that Williamson was ever guilty of the " crimes " with which he was charged.[25]

A picture painted in entirely different colors is unveiled when the life of the son, Alexander Williamson, is examined, but the traits ascribed to the father have, by association, been unjustly attributed to the son. Little, if anything is known about his boyhood. It appears that he was educated in England, as the first direct reference to him is found in a letter from Governor Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, Secretary for Maryland, dated June 29, 1755, in which the Governor states:

> One Mr. Williamson Son of Parson Williamson [26] in Calvert Cty is going to England again he tells me to offer himself as a Candidate of Orders. His Father has not the best of Characters but I have never heard any ills of the young Fellow since his residence here. If either of these [another candidate was discussed in the letter] should request his Ldp's Favour for Ecclesiastical preferment at their Return hither, I should wish they may not receive any promise of being immediately provided for. . . .[27]

Young Williamson must have made an excellent impression on Calvert and Baltimore, for after his Ordination in 1755 and in spite of Governor Sharpe's request that no letters of preferment be given, Calvert gave him a letter to Governor Sharpe, dated January 3, 1756, as follows:

> The Bearer the Revd Mr. Williamson desiring my Address to you on his behalf, I beg favour of your Acceptance thereof. Your having no Exception to him His Lordship directs me to Acquaint you, 'tis His desire that you do present him with the first Benefice that does become vacant, after induction of such other Clergy he has noted to you. Preferment of this Gentleman will give My Lord peculiar Satisfaction, be being a Native of His Province, of sound Doctrine and Principles to our present Happy Establishment Both in Church and State. . . .[28]

Calvert's letter made a strong impression on Sharpe, for by

[25] George A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 357.

[26] This reference to " Parson " Williamson may be the key to the so-called tradition that Alexander Williamson was known as a " Sporting Parson." This passage definitely refers to his father.

[27] *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 237.

[28] *Ibid.*, 332-333.

January 22, 1757, Williamson was curate of St. Andrew's Parish, St. Mary's County. The vestry minutes of that date show that the vestrymen " Unanimously agree that the Reverend Mr. Alexander Williamson have the thirty per poll. . . ." [29] This was again confirmed for the year 1758.[30]

On April 3, 1759, Williamson presented a letter from Governor Sharpe to the vestrymen of St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis, which appointed him curate of that parish. He was sworn in the same day.[31] During the period of his office at St. Anne's, he was chosen to read the prayers at the opening and closing of the Assembly; this responsibility continued throughout his services in this parish.[32]

On February 23, 1761, on the death of the Rev. George Murdock, rector of Prince George's Parish, Williamson was immediately installed as curate to await Lord Baltimore's pleasure as to a permanent appointment. In his letter to Lord Baltimore of March 4, 1761, Governor Sharpe reminded him that Prince George's was one of the most valuable parishes in the province, and in his letter to Calvert on the same day, Sharpe described the parish, and stated that should Dr. Sharpe (an English clergyman for whom the parish had been intended on the death or retirement of Dr. Murdock) have dropped all thoughts of leaving England he (Governor Sharpe) would be glad to induct Williamson into the rectorship of the parish.[33] His Lordship apparently approved the suggestion as on March 24, 1762, he was inducted into the parish as rector.[34] This was indeed rapid advancement; from the time of his ordination in 1755 and his return to Maryland in 1756, he was progressively placed in more influential parishes until, five years later, he had been assigned to one of the most prosperous parishes in the Province. At this time, Williamson was thirty-five years old.

During his rectorship the parish flourished. Arthur S. Browne states in an article entitled " The Origin of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the District of Columbia ": [35]

[29] Copy of Vestry Minutes (Md. Hist. Soc.) for this date. (The poll was 30 pounds of tobacco levied on every male, free or slave, over 16 in the parish. It was collected by the sheriff and paid to the rector as his living.)
[30] *Ibid.*, for February 11, 1758.
[31] Copy of Vestry Minutes (Md. Hist. Soc.), April 23, 1759.
[32] *Archives of Maryland*, LVI, xxix, xxxviii, 228-229, 439.
[33] *Ibid.*, IX, 491-493.
[34] Copy of Vestry Minutes (Md. Hist. Soc.), for this date.
[35] *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 9 (1906), 81-82.

Rev. Mr. Murdock was succeeded by Rev. Alexander Williamson, who was licensed as curate by Governor Sharpe February 23, 1761, and became rector the following year.

Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen, whose historical work in the diocese of Maryland is well known, states that Rev. Mr. Williamson resigned his parish in 1776 on account of the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Rev. Mr. Williamson considering that his oath of fidelity to the Crown prevented him from serving the parish under the State Government.

The records of the parish and other available material show that Rev. Mr. Williamson was beloved and respected by his congregation, was most earnest in his labors in extending the influence of the church, was zealous in the cause of education and religion, and has left many monuments which endure to this day. His encumbency was the golden age of the parish. . . .

Also, during Mr. Williamson's rectorship, land was procured for two missions in the parish, and chapels were built. . . . The chapels started by Mr. Williamson have long since become independent parishes; and it was due to Mr. Williamson's efforts that the first school was established within the limits of the parish, this being fairly considered the beginning of the school system of the District of Columbia.[36]

Within ten months after his induction as rector, Williamson bought the tract of land which he named "Hayes." In 1766 or 1767 he completed the central core of Hayes. He married in 1767 Elizabeth Lyon, the daughter of Dr. William Lyon of Baltimore. The marriage was an unhappy one, ending in a separation before the birth of a daughter, Mary Lyon Williamson, in Baltimore, January 29, 1769.[37] A tripartite agreement was signed by Williamson, his wife, and Dr. Lyon, under the terms of which, the cause of the separation not being disclosed, Elizabeth Williamson relinquished all claims to Alexander Williamson's estate, in return for which she retained custody of the infant daughter to rear and educate as she saw fit; Williamson returned her dower and relinquished all claims to the estate she had inherited from her grandmother; and Dr. Lyons assumed liability for any contracts Alexander Williamson had made, or might have made, on behalf of Elizabeth Williamson, who was then twenty years of age, and Alexander Williamson and Elizabeth Williamson agreed to live separate and apart as though no contract of marriage had ever been entered into. In spite of this agreement a suit was filed by

[36] *Ibid.* Reference is made to an indenture from John Claggett to Alexander Williamson deeding two acres for the use of a public school. See also Rev. Edward Waylen, *A History of Prince George's Parish, Montgomery County* (Rockville, 1845), pp. 12-16.

[37] Copy of Parish Records, St. Thomas' Church, Garrison Forest (Md. Hist. Soc.).

Dr. Lyon against the executors of Williamson's estate two years after his death to recover funds which he, Dr. Lyon, claimed were due him for the care and education of Mary Lyon Williamson from the time of the signing of the separation agreement until Williamson's death in 1786. The suit was decided in favor of the executors and dismissed.[38] Nowhere in the course of this litigation was there any reflection on Williamson's character.

In connection with Williamson's resignation and retirement as rector of Prince George's Parish at the outbreak of the Revolution, two facts should be noted which, while circumstantial, have a most definite bearing on the understanding of his qualities.

First. When the war broke out, the Church of England clergyman was in a difficult position. He had two courses of action open to him. His oath, on accepting the duties and perquisites of his office, demanded allegiance to the Crown; he was bound by a double bond, secular and spiritual. His was a choice he must make, however distasteful it might be. He had either to renounce his oath and join the patriots, remaining as rector, or adhere to his oath, in which event he was evicted. If he did not pay the treble taxes which were assessed against those who did not forswear, he was banished. Indeed, it has been said that the clergy stood condemned in the eyes of the people; and in the cases of many who elected to remain loyal the sentence was harshly carried into execution.[39] Williamson chose the second of the two alternatives and retired. It is noteworthy that in his retirement he was left in peace on his estate during the war and was not molested as is shown by the fact that his home and property came through the conflict intact.

Second. Throughout the entire war and while he was not officially connected with any church or parish, from 1776 to 1783 twenty-seven couples residing in the newly-formed Montgomery County selected him to perform their marriage ceremonies, though a new rector had been appointed to succeed him.[40] These two

[38] Lyon v. Executors of Alexander Williamson, Chancery 22, f. 526 *ff.*, Land Office, Annapolis. (Photostat at Md. Hist. Soc.)

[39] S. D. McConnell, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York, 1890), p. 202 *ff.* Dr. Rightmyer, *loc. cit.*, states that he has carefully investigated the claims that the Anglican clergy were mistreated if they did not renounce their oaths, and in no instance has he been able to substantiate any punitive action other than restriction to the bounds of their parishes and a prohibition of exercising any influence against the newly declared free and independent state.

[40] G. A. Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records*, II, 521-522.

items bear strongly to show the high regard in which his former parishioners held him, and how, in the heat of the conflict when passion ruled and where true values were often overlooked, he was left to pursue his way in peace, known and admitted Tory that he was.

Another facet which illuminates the character of Alexander Williamson is disclosed in his carefully considered will. His sister, Elizabeth Chesley, had been widowed in 1767 and was left with several small children, two of whom were so young at the time of their father's death that he had not included them in his will which he had executed two years before. In 1773 Elizabeth Chesley executed her own will, in which she attempted to correct that defect in her husband's will by bequeathing to Ann and Thomas sufficient of her property to place them on an equal footing with the six older children.[41] However, the Revolution had so shrunk the fortunes of the Chesley family that when she died in 1785, naming her brother Alexander executor, there was not enough in the estate to accomplish her purpose. At her death Williamson, who had been devotedly attached to his sister Elizabeth and she to him, took her three then unmarried daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, and Ann Chesley, his nieces, to live with him at Hayes under his care and protection,[42] and when he made his own will eight months later, he drew the instrument in such a manner as to carry out the intent and wish of his sister, which he, as executor of her estate, found that he would not be able to fulfill because of a deficiency of available assets. His will, after giving the use of his house and plantation to the three nieces mentioned above until one should marry (in which event the estate should be sold) gave £500 to each niece and nephew and gave and bequeathed " over and above to my dear niece, Ann Chesley, she being wholly neglected in her father's will, as much of the residue of my estate as may be sufficient to raise her to an equality of fortune with the rest of her sisters." A fourth niece, Rebecca, had married in 1785 before Williamson had executed his will. Williamson was under no obligation to leave his daughter anything by the will, since by the terms of the separation agreement Dr. Lyon had assumed all responsibility for the education and

[41] Will of John Chesley, Liber 36, f. 341, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Will of Elizabeth Chesley, Liber JJ # 1, f. 313, *ibid.*

[42] Lyon v. Executors, *supra.*

support of his grandchild, but Williamson provided a bequest to her of £1000, and, after other specific bequests, provided that the corpus of the estate be divided, equally, share and share alike, between his daughter and his nieces and nephews.[43]

It is extremely doubtful if Williamson saw his daughter more than twice during his lifetime. The only known times that he saw her were two visits she made to Hayes; the first in 1784 and the second in 1786, eight months before his death. Both of these visits ended with high feeling between father and daughter, after the first of which he had considered cutting her off with a shilling, but which, as he declared to Thomas Johns, one of his executors, he did not do, for "I have determined not to disinherit my daughter for as I have lived a man of honor, so am I resolved to die." [44] Williamson has been mistakenly thought to have died a wealthy man. While his gross estate was valued at the accounting at £11585, there were not sufficient assets to carry out fully the provisions of his will.[45]

Further, as a man is known by the company he keeps, let us glance at the character of the men named by him as witnesses and executors of his will. These men, Gen. James Lingan, Samuel Davidson, and James Dunlop, witnesses, and Henry Townsend, Thomas Johns, and Benjamin Stoddert, executors, were among the foremost citizens of the community, and above reproach in their public and private lives.

How then, with the marshalling of this evidence before us, is it possible to declare Williamson other than a man of high ideals and exemplary character? Not one particle of evidence, documentary or otherwise, has been brought to light which in the slightest way tends to disparage the character of the man. On the contrary,

[43] Will of Alexander Williamson, Liber B, f. 323, Office of Register of Wills, Rockville.

[44] Lyon v. Executors, *supra.*

[45] Liber E, f. 285, Register of Wills, Rockville. First and only account of executors of Williamson. This is explained by fact that while gross estate was large, after paying of debts of estate and part of specific bequests, there was no residuary estate to distribute. The specific bequest to Mary L. Williamson which is not accounted for can probably be traced to and accounted for in ledgers of James Dunlop who bought Hayes in 1792. An item in ledger dated Apr. 19, 1796, shows a debt owed to Dunlop by John Tagart who had married Mary in 1790, Tagart having become financially involved in 1795. The debt amounting to £1185.19.6 was never repaid by Tagart but a contra entry shows that it was settled by Benjamin Stoddert, an executor, on Apr. 30, 1796. Mary had an equity of £1000 in her father's estate, and this debt was in all likelihood paid from this equity with the interest due thereon. (Ledgers in Md. Hist. Soc.)

the documentary evidence discloses the favorable impression made by him on Gov. Sharpe, Lord Baltimore, Cecilius Calvert and on his personal friends and associates. One finds no direct reference to Williamson's character other than the several Sharpe and Calvert letters previously cited before the publication of Dr. Busey's book on Washington in which the author states that he was " a learned, witty, and elegant clergyman, but addicted to all the vices then common among gentlemen, such as hunting, horse-racing, drinking, and gaming." He " built the house that he might entertain in a manner suited to his taste and means." [46] Dr. Busey gives no authorities for his conclusions, other than a mass of general bibliographical references in an appendix to his book. Later authors have followed in the same vein, but if he loved his horses and enjoyed riding to hounds, and extending the hospitality of his home to his friends, doing to others as they would do unto him, and living his private life in harmony with his duties to his parishioners and his church, is it fair to say of him as Dr. Busey does that " he was addicted to all the vices then common among gentlemen? " Dr. Rightmyer in his article makes this comment on his character: " Had time permitted some of the shining lights of the day might have been discussed in detail. . . . There were Alexander Williamson, senior and junior. . . . These names are but a few of the many that could be mentioned and of whom any church in any age might well be proud." [47]

Williamson died in 1786, and the place of his burial is not known.[48] He has left no surviving descendants.[49] His only child,

[46] S. C. Busey, *Pictures of the City of Washington in the Past* (Washington, 1898), p. 172.

[47] Rightmyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-250.

[48] An exhaustive search has been made to find the place of rest of Williamson. Legend has it that he was buried in the garden at Hayes, but it is improbable that, having arranged for the disposal of Hayes after his death, he would have wished burial there, and the plot has never been located. Helen G. Ridgely, *Historic Graves of Maryland* (New York, 1908), p. 183, places his grave under the chancel of St. Paul's Church, Rock Creek Parish; but at the time of his death, only the walls were up, it had a dirt floor and it remained unroofed for nearly 40 years. If Williamson was buried there his body would have been moved or covered up when the floor was laid; if it was outside the north wall where the present chancel was built, the grave would have been discovered and relocated, even if unmarked, for the present chancel is built over a sub-basement.

The most likely place of burial is under a monument erected to the memory of James and Elizabeth Dunlop which is now placed approximately fifty yards east of the house. An old family burial ground had been established, date unknown, several hundred yards southeast of the house, and in 1926, in an exchange of land with the Chevy Chase Land Co. to correct and straighten boundaries, all the remains that could be found were removed and re-interred in a

Mary Lyon Williamson, who married John Tagart, had eight children, and she, her husband, and six of the children are all buried in the graveyard of St. Thomas's Church, Garrison Forest, Baltimore County.[50] A tablet in the church to Samuel H. Tagart, her son, states:

> The fund for the extension of this church was furnished by
>
> Samuel H. Tagart
>
> to enable the poor but worthy residents of the neighborhood to attend its services and as a memorial to his family (of which he is the sole survivor) who are buried within the shadow of these walls
>
> MDCCCXC

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common grave under the monument at its present site. It is probable that Alexander Williamson established this graveyard and reserved a corner for his slaves—and many slave remains were exhumed after the family remains were moved. He had lost contact with his church since 1776, he was estranged from his wife and child, his nieces immediately returned to St. Mary's County after his death, and there was a convenient graveyard on the property within a few hundred yards of the house in which he died.

Therefore, it appears logical to believe that, no headstone having been placed over his grave; or at least only a wooden marker so common in those days; that, when the Dunlop remains were moved, those of Alexander Williamson were moved with them.

[49] Whether the nieces, or any of them, elected to live at Hayes after Williamson's death as authorized by his will is extremely unlikely. All of them were married by 1798. We do not know the dates of these marriages, but they were not before 1792 when the estate was sold. Neither do we know which niece was married first. The fact that the furnishings and other personal property including slaves and livestock were sold at Hayes on Oct. 23, 1787, indicates that the nieces had moved away prior to that time.

[50] An interesting and unexplained aftermath on the Williamson and Tagart families is uncovered in following the subsequent careers of the members of the Tagart family. Mary Williamson Tagart was born into the Episcopal Church (St. Thomas', Garrison Forest), but the records of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore show that she was married to John Tagart in that church, they were on the rolls of the church as communicants, and all eight of their children were born members of that church and baptized therein. All of the Tagarts, however, are buried in St. Thomas' graveyard, and at least one of them, Samuel Tagart, contributed heavily to the Episcopal Church.

The records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Baltimore show that, on Jan. 21, 1795, an Elizabeth Williamson was married to a William Russell. She is the only Elizabeth Williamson mentioned in the church records. She is unquestionably the widow of Alexander Williamson, as a William Russell, a friend of the Lyon family, gave testimony of an intimate nature in Dr. Lyon's suit against the executors of Alexander Williamson. Dr. Lyon died in August or September of 1794, and did not mention his daughter Elizabeth in his will. (Liber WB 5, f. 185, Register of Wills, Baltimore.)

The family Bible of William Russell (copy in Md. Hist. Soc.) shows that Russell died May 8, 1805, in the 65th year of his age and he was buried in St. Peter's burial ground. Elizabeth Russell, wife of William, died on June 24, 1814, and was buried in First Presbyterian burying ground "aged 65 years."

Fortunately, Alexander Williamson's memory is perpetuated by this paragraph appearing in the *Maryland Gazette* (Baltimore) of December 5, 1786, which is quoted in its entirety:

> On Sunday the 19th ultimo died at Hayes, the Rev. Alexander Williamson; a man of rich genius, knowledge and learning. He was not more distinguished and admired in his public character as a Preacher, than in his private one as a Gentleman—his characteristicks were honour and philanthropy; and as he lived beloved and caressed by a most numerous and respectable acquaintance, so he died universally lamented and regretted.

BALTIMORE: NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD NAME

By Hamill Kenny

I. Irish Provenance

IN 1942 the Very Reverend M. J. Canon Masterson, in a contribution [1] to an Irish antiquarian society on the subject of George Calvert's religious conversion, reported as follows, a communication from Canon Gray of Bornacoola Parish, County Longford: "His [Canon Gray's] parish, Bornacoola, includes several townships in County Longford, and he informs me that part of Cloonageehir which lies along the east bank of the Rinn River is still called Baltimore."

This is the Baltimore of George Calvert's County Longford barony which (so Canon Masterson explains, contained seven hamlets, a number of obsolete townlands, and 1,400 acres of bog and wood, a large part of which lay on both sides of the road from Currygranny to Cloonageehir. In the ninety-six years from 1846, the probable date of its last published mention,[2] to the time of Canon Masterson's discovery, Baltimore, County Longford, had sunk into virtual oblivion. Canon Masterson's article puts it again (figuratively speaking) on the map. It can now be unqualifiedly declared that Baltimore, County Longford—the Baltimore responsible for George Calvert's title—is not only a portion of Cloonageehir on the east bank of the Rinn River, but that it is even today so-called!

During my visit, in June, 1952, to Longford, the serene county town of County Longford, in the center of the Emerald Isle, the Very Reverend J. Canon Carney, of St. Mel's College, handed me a copy of Canon Masterson's article, and Mr. Arkin, the County Longford recorder, took me to Bornacoola Parish where (in a

[1] "Baltimore," *Ardagh & Clonmacnoise Antiquarian Society Journal* (Dublin: James Duffy & Co.), II (1942), 88-94.

[2] In *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland* (Dublin, 1846).

friendly atmosphere of books and greensward) Canon Gray (Masterson's cited authority) gave me a complete confirmation of Canon Masterson's discovery. It was a relief to learn that Baltimore, County Longford, was a tangible reality, still on the peasant's tongue. For earlier on the same journey, in Baltimore, County Cork, I had been disquieted by the misconception expressed to me by the editors of the weekly (Skibbereen) *Southern Star*, that Baltimore, in George Calvert's title, and in America, was really derived from Baltimore, County Cork! One of the editors opined that immigrants may once have sailed from here to Maryland, and the other that in this region Lord Baltimore may once have owned land!

The egregious error that Baltimore, County Cork, is the origin of the American name is not only, in some quarters, the popular belief, but it has also been printed. The earliest statement I have found of this error is by P. W. Joyce who, in 1875, speaking of Baltimore, County Cork, describes George Calvert as "Lord Baltimore, who derived his title from the Irish village. . . ." [3] In later editions of this work, Joyce omits that statement. But in 1893 Dr. J. J. Egli,[4] probably relying on Joyce, also ascribes George Calvert's "Lordtitel" to Baltimore, County Cork. In a popular book about the city of Cork, Robert Gibbings, in 1951,[5] repeats the error: "Baltimore, a small fishing village . . . gave its name to a settlement in America which in little more than 300 years has grown to be a city of nearly 1,000,000 inhabitants." Baltimore, County Cork, is old; [6] like Baltimore, Maryland, it has a commodious harbor, though now forsaken; and it is remembered in Irish history for the Sack of the Algerines (1631) and the siege of the Castle of Baltimore (O'Driscoll's Castle, 1642).[7] But its only connection with the County Longford Baltimore, really responsible for the Maryland name, is that both words probably have the same Gaelic etymology!

The geographical obscurity of Baltimore, County Longford,

[3] *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, Second Series (Dublin, 1875), p. 357.

[4] *Nomina Geografica* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1893), p. 76. The Irish place is not mentioned in the first edition, Leipzig, 1872.

[5] *Sweet Cork of Thee* (New York, 1951), p. 225.

[6] P. W. Joyce, *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* (Dublin, 1893), II, 347: "The name is written in several old Anglo-Irish documents, Balintimore, which accords exactly with the present Irish pronunciation."

[7] Richard Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum* (London, 1909), p. 38.

mentioned officially in 1624 as the site of Lord Calvert's barony,[8] is probably the reason for the erroneous belief that Baltimore, America, comes from Baltimore, County Cork, Ireland. Baltimore, County Longford, is not on any of the maps of Ireland I have seen. Nor can one find it in the detailed *Ordnance Survey of Ireland, List of Townlands in County Longford*.[9] *Topographia Hibernica*[10] gives it meager mention beneath the County Cork Baltimore, stating: "Also a place in Co. Longford . . . which gives title of baron to the noble family of Calvert." *The Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*[11] lists only the County Cork Baltimore. *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*,[12] describing the Calvert peerage, declares: "The place from which George Calvert derived his title as a peer, seems not to have been Baltimore in the county of Cork, but some very obscure spot in the county of Longford."

In his article, in addition to re-establishing this "very obscure spot," Canon Masterson presents a theory of why George Calvert chose the particular name, "Baltimore," for his title. The names of most of the places on the property given George Calvert by King James were somewhat difficult and unmusical: Ulfeete and Drumlish, and Aghawaden, Carrowdonegan, Barragh and Derawley. Canon Masterson consequently suggests that the first Lord Baltimore chose *Baltimore* for his title because of its euphony. The Canon states: "George Calvert could hardly have selected an artistic title from any other part of his property. The two chief centres of his property could not allure him. Lord Ulfeete, or Lord Drumlish, sound barbaric in comparison with Lord Baltimore."

II. Corrected Etymology

Baltimore, County Longford, is then a reality; the connection between a big American metropolis and seaport and a portion of Cloonageehir, on the Irish River Rinn, is remote but direct! It was a townland; it probably had houses; there is no mention of a castle. But those who have analyzed the name fail to deal with

[8] See Masterson, *op. cit.*, p. 88. Burke, *Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire* (London, 1883), p. 99: "Calvert—Baron Baltimore, of Baltimore. By Letters Patent, dated 16 February, 1624."

[9] (Dublin, 1915).

[10] Compiled by William W. Seward (Dublin, 1795).

[11] Compiled by Samuel Lewis (London, 1837).

[12] (Dublin, 1846).

it in a practical way, and I must therefore deplore as conjectural and erroneous the etymologies proposed by Seward's *Topographia Hibernica*, by Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, by the *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, and by Professor Hermann Collitz.[13] These etymologies, made for the County Cork Baltimore by the first three authorities, and by Professor Collitz (with certain differences) for Baltimore, County Longford, are:

(1) That Baltimore, County Cork, was a Druidical sanctuary where Beal was worshipped, and it therefore means, "The great habitation of Beal"; and
(2) That Baltimore, County Longford, means, "The place of the great Lord" [i. e., "the Supreme Lord in Heaven"].

Though the Irish writers saw the Semitic god 'Beal,' in *Bal-*, whereas Collitz saw 'Lord' in the *-ti-* of Bal*ti*more, the meaning of these two etymologies is basically identical, and their mutual weakness is simply that, as Joyce declares: "For this silly treatment there is not a particle of authority."[14] Though H. L. Mencken calls his article "a model contribution,"[15] Collitz errs specifically in taking the opening syllable of *Bal*timore as *ball*, "spot" or "place," and in being overly fanciful in his notion that *-ti-* is the abbreviation of *tighearna*, "Lord." By thus ignoring the grammatical fact that *balti-* in *Baltimore* is merely the plural (*bailte*) of *baile*, "township," "homestead," "estate," he subordinates truth to imagination.

Joyce comes nearest to the correct etymology of *Baltimore*. He appears, however, to have been influenced in his analysis by historical references to "the Castle of Baltimore" ("Baltimore Castle," "O'Driscols Castle at Baltimore"), the ivied ruins of which still dominate the lonely County Cork harbor. Evidently thinking that this castle is referred to in the name, Joyce reconstructs his prototype as "the correct Irish" *Baile-an-tighe-mhoir*, 'The town of the large house.' The Irish here is indeed correct, with the *m* properly aspirated (i. e., *mh* or [v]) to agree with the genitive masculine singular *an tighe*, "of the house." It is not, however, the Irish of the name *Baltimore* which, as the spellings and pronunciation show, contains neither an aspirated *m* (i. e., *mh* or [v]) nor the genitive article, *an*.

[13] "Baltimore—What Does the Name Mean?" *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, XXII (January, 1934), 133-134.
[14] See note 6.
[15] *The American Language* (4th ed., New York, 1947), p. 531.

The correct Gaelic solution is simpler than Joyce supposed, and the meaning reached is applicable to both Baltimores. The first part of the name is *bailte* (> *Balti-*) the plural of *baile*, "township," "homestead," "estate." Mora (> *-more*), the plural of *mor*, remains, as in all previous interpretations, 'big.'

III. American Pronunciation and History

Phonetically and historically, the place name *Baltimore*, in America, has run a varied course. Until the middle of the 18th century, its usual spelling in archives and printed matter, was "Baltemore." This spelling corresponds to the true etymology of *Baltimore* from bailte, and also points to the phenomenon noticed by Mr. H. L. Mencken [16] in his discussion of the name's pronunciation: "The natives always drop the medial *i* and so reduce the name to two syllables." In Ireland *Baltimore* is given its full spelling pronunciation, but with the native American Baltimorean the word is" *Baltm'r.*" [17] To the reader who may wonder how the important Irish adjective *mora* thus becomes *m'r*, it should be pointed out that the people of Baltimore, Maryland, besides knowing no Gaelic, evidently share to some degree the well-known Delmarva speech tendency to pronounce *ur* [ə r] for *air* [ɛ r] and (in this case) for for *ore* [ɔ r].[18] Examples are Am*urr*ican (American), Dela*wur* (Delaware), m*urr*it (merit), th*ur*apy (therapy) and th*ur* (there).

Though the present city of Baltimore, Maryland, was founded only in 1729, the county of that name was erected as early as 1659 and this seems to have been the earliest use of the name. "Baltimore M," supposedly meaning a manor, appears on the lower Elk River in Augustine Hermann's map of Virginia and Maryland, dated 1673, but no record of a grant of that name has been found. Also on Hermann's map is "Baltimore Towne" on Bush River, believed to have been the site of the original county seat, but no trace of settlement remains.[19] Joppa on the

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 540.

[17] Mr. Mencken's orthography.

[18] Professor William Cabell Greet in W. T. Couch's *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 606-607; Lewis Helmar Herman, *Manual of American Dialects* (Chicago, New York, 1942), p. 102.

[19] Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (New York, 1929), p. 272; "Early County Seats and Court Houses of Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906) 3-15; John Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 42-53; Annie Leakin Sioussat, *Old Baltimore* (New York, 1931), pp. 21-23, 31; Henry J. Berkley, "Extinct

Gunpowder usurped the court house honors but in turn bowed to the present city of Baltimore. The latter became the county seat in 1768. William B. Marye [20] states that a 1686 Somerset County survey mentions "a River called Baltemore River." He notes that surveys of 1711 and 1715 call this stream "the Indian alias Baltimore River. . . ." This Baltimore River [21] evidently suggested a Maryland town of the same name. For, in 1744,[22] it was "enacted" that the "Town to be situated on Indian River" be called "Baltimore-Town." By 1745,[23] to judge from the mention of an actual Baltimore-Town on Indian River, the new place had come into being.

Only the Baltimore on the Patapsco survived. So well-known is this city today as an American seaport, and as the origin of *Baltimore* Clipper, *Baltimore* Glacier (Alaska) [24] Baltimore Hotel,[25] Baltimore Street,[26] North *Baltimore* (Ohio), and the United States cruiser, *Baltimore*,[27] that the truth about its exact geographical source and its Gaelic meaning should be of great interest.[28] This truth is: (1) that the townland,or township, Baltimore, County Longford, and *not* Baltimore, County Cork, is the immediate source of the title, Lord *Baltimore*, and the indirect source of Baltimore, Maryland, U. S. A.; (2) that Lord Baltimore probably chose this name because of its euphony; and (3) that the name means, in Longford, and wherever else it is found, "big houses," "homesteads," or "estates."

River Towns of the Chesapeake Bay Region," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIX (1924), 125-134. The late Mrs. Sioussat made a visit to Ireland to investigate both localities called Baltimore. Unable to find a trace of a barony or lands of that name in County Longford, she concluded that Calvert had taken his title from the County Cork town. Sioussat, *op. cit.*, 1-9, 13-15. Other writers have followed suit.—*Ed.*

[20] "Indian Towns of the Southeastern Part of Sussex County, Delaware," *Bulletin Archaeological Society of Delaware*, III (February, 1940), 3.

[21] Today, the Indian River, Delaware.

[22] *Archives of Maryland*, XLII, 626-627 (for 1745).

[23] *Ibid.*, XLIV, 207 (for 1745).

[24] Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

[25] 88, Avenue Kléber, Paris, France.

[26] In America: Baltimore and Cumberland, Maryland; Kansas City, Missouri (*Baltimore* Avenue). In England: Liverpool (*Baltimore* Street, one block, adjoining Maryland Street, two blocks).

[27] Reviewed June 15, 1953, at Portsmouth, England, by Queen Elizabeth II.

[28] The *Baltimore* oriole was named for Lord Baltimore's colors, black and yellow, rather than for the city. See Hervey Brackbill, "The Baltimore Oriole's Name," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV (Dec., 1949), 306-308. See also *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII, 455-456.

REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE

PART II

Edited by Helen Lee Peabody

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, No. 1, March, 1954, p. 1)

JOHN HENRY, Jr., who was appointed in 1778 to represent Maryland in the Congress at Philadelphia, was Governor Lee's junior, being only twenty-eight years old at the time.[1] He had been trained in law at the Middle Temple in London, and while there, was conspicuous in defending the rights of the Colonies. He entered political life in Maryland, was popular, and was elected a member of the General Assembly in Annapolis. Later, he was elected Governor of Maryland. His few surviving letters to Governor Lee gain in value, as almost all of his papers and correspondence were destroyed by fire, at his country place, "Weston," in Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore.[2]

John Henry, Jr., to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelª. Sepr. 2. 1780.

Dear Sir

Your favour of the 26th of Aug: addressed to the Delegates I have had the Honour of receiving.[3] On inquiry I find that the Embargo is continued to the 30th of this present month in this State[4] to the 20th of Octr. in Delaware. It has been mentioned in Congress and thought expedient by others, that the embargo in all the States should be taken off. The propriety of the Measure is now under the consideration of a Comttee

[1] "Blenheim," the Lee estate referred to in the first installment (March issue, p. 3, fn. 4) was in Charles Co. Mrs. Hayden's article, there cited, appeared in this journal in 1942.

[2] See *Biographical Directory of The American Congress* (Washington, 1950), p. 1300, and H. E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 41-45.

[3] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 266-267.

[4] Pennsylvania.

of Congress, and till they have reported, and the Determination of Congress is known, it appears to me proper that the embargo should be continued. As other States have continued it for a short time Maryland I suppose will follow their example.

The Fate of the Action on the morning of the 16th of Aug. you must have heard.[5] It is a melancholy and distressing blow for Maryland, and a ruinous and destructive one to the Southern States. I wish it was in my power to give you the Fate of our gallant countrymen, and to relieve the pain and anxiety of those Distressed Families who wait with a sorrowful impatience to hear the Sacrifice of their dearest connections. But it is not in my power. Genl. [Horatio] Gates' Letter, which is wrote two hundred miles from the Field of Battle, gives no other information than, that they were left by the Militia and himself on the first fire, surrounded by a Force infinitely their superior in Numbers: "That their Bravery is highly to be honoured as they made as great and as gallant an opposition as it was possible so small a Force could make against one so vastly superior." This account I suppose the General gives from the known and established valor of the Troops; it could not be from his knowledge of the Action, for he doesn't appear, by his Letter to have seen the regular Troops after two O'Clock in the Morning when the first skirmish took place. As the State of Maryland was deeply interested in this Action, I thought it my duty to move that the Letter should be published, but Congress determined and I now believe very wisely, that it should not: It must be known sooner or later, and when ever it is, you will join with me in pronouncing it a very extraordinary one. I shall forbear at present to make any observation lest my resentment should carry me beyond the bounds of propriety and Justice. Col. Ramsey [6] who will have the Honour of delivering you this Letter will explain to you the line of March, the order of Battle, and the State in which our Troops were left—from the best information we can collect from the Gentlemen sent by General Gates with the Intelligence. It is believed, for my own part I have no doubt, knowing what passed previous to the action, that their Fate is a serious one: Tho I hope it is not so bad as the fugitive General expresses it in the two first lines of his Letter. "In the deepest distress and Anxiety of Mind, I am obliged to acquaint your Excellency with the total Defeat of the Troops under my Command."

Reports, which the two officers bring, say that many officers fell; among the rest General [William] Smallwood Col. Gunby,[7] Majr. Winder,[8] Majr. Roxbury,[9] Capt. Brooks [10] (reduced to a certainty) Col. Amory, etc. etc. etc. I trust this voluminous Catalogue will considerably diminish when we have a more accurate account; some of our officers will no doubt escape.

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[5] The Battle of Camden in South Carolina. For details, see Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (New York, 1952), II, 725 *ff.*

[6] Probably Nathaniel Ramsey (d. 1817), of Maryland.

[7] John Gunby, of Maryland.

[8] Levin Winder (d. 1819), of Maryland, who was wounded and taken prisoner at Camden.

[9] Alexander Roxburg, of Maryland.

[10] Probably Benjamin Brooks, of Maryland (d. 1800).

Till then, or the return of a Flag sent in by General Gates we must remain in the dark. For further information on this melancholy subject, I refer you to my friend Col. Ramsey.

I am, sir, with the highest respect and

Esteem

Yrs, J. Henry Junr

Christopher Richmond was a young man Lee had known for many years, who had the faculty of writing graphic descriptions of anything in which he had been concerned. His letters, however little he has to say, make agreeable reading, even to the point of his entertaining account of selecting a new "Hatt" and gun for Lee in London.

CHRISTOPHER RICHMOND TO GOVERNOR LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Hillsborough [, North Carolina]
30th. August. 1780

Dear Sir:

I snatch an Opportunity of writing you a few Lines by Col. Malmady,[11] who is on his Way to Phila. You will have heard of our Defeat near Camden,—towards which we had approached with great Rapidity, notwithstanding the violent Heat of the Weather, the Want of Provisions, and other Obstacles. On the 15th Inst. in the Night we marched against the Enemy, with the greatest Hopes, nay a moral Certainty of Success—but alas! our fair Hopes, Wishes and Confidence, were withered & blasted, by the uncommon, and most unheard of Cowardice, of the Militia which was with us; and composed at least two Thirds of our Army. The Maryland & Delaware Regimts. behaved like Men—how many of them are saved I cannot at present tell—but believe, between Six & Seven hundred of the Whole that were in, and out, of Action. I have sent the best Account I could collect, of the Officers who were kill'd, wounded and made Prisoners by the Enemy; to Forrest[12] & Hyde,[13] to whom I wrote a hasty and inaccurate Account of the Battle, and to which, I beg leave to refer you, should no particulars thereof, have reached you before. I hope every exertion will be made in your State, to supply Men for our reduced Division; and to supply them well, when raised—that we may again show the Enemy, we are able to make a respectable Head against them. I will do myself the honor of writing by every Opportunity [.] in the

[11] Francis, Marquis de Malmedy, a French officer.
[12] Uriah Forrest, of Maryland (d. 1805).
[13] Possibly William Hyde, of Maryland.

Mean Time be pleased to make my very Respectful Compts. to your Lady & Family and believe me to be My Dear Sir Your truly affectionate & oblig'd Friend

Chrisr. Richmond

[His Excellency
[Thomas Sim Lee
[Governor of Maryland
[Annapolis]

Throughout the entire bitter engagement at Camden, the Chevalier du Buysson, General de Kalb's aide de camp, remained at his side, saving him from death, it is said, many times. When the Baron fell, mortally wounded, du Buysson appealed to the British, to allow him to die within their lines. This was done, and every last care given him. In 1886 his statue was placed before the State House at Annapolis. Thomas F. Bayard, later Ambassador to England, delivered the address.

CHRISTOPHER RICHMOND TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Hillsborough [N. C.] 4th September 1780

Dear Sir,

Col. Dubuysson, aide de Camp to the late Baron deKalb will do himself the Honour of delivering this to Your Excellency—he is a brave and amiable young Officer, and highly deserves the Attention of every Well-wisher to the Cause of America. I therefore do myself the Honor of introducing him to your Acquaintance and kind offices—and shall Esteem every mark of Respect you bestow upon him as being done to myself. I am with the truest affection and Esteem.
My dear Sir.

You obedt. and obliged Servant

Chrisr. Richmond

His Excellency
Governor Lee

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE [14]
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Headquarters, Bergen County [, N. J.]
Sept. 6th, 1780

Sir,

In consequence of the disagreeable intelligence of the defeat of the

[14] Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XX, 2-3. Recipient's copy in Hall of Records, Annapolis (see *Calendar of Maryland State Papers—The Brown Books*, item 382.)

Army, under Major General Gates [at Camden, S. C.], which I have just received: I think it expedient to countermand the march of the Troops, which were ordered from Maryland, to join the Main Army.

I am therefore to request your Excellency to give directions for Regiments lately raised for the War, as well as for all the Recruits of your State (as soon as they can possibly be collected and organized) to march immediately to the Southward, and put themselves under the orders of the Commanding Officer of that department.

Although I have not had the particulars of the late disaster, or of how extensive it is; yet it is certain the exigency is such, as will demand the most vigorous and spirited Measures to retrieve our affairs and check the Enemy; and I cannot entertain a doubt, but your Excellency and the State will use every exertion to give Activity and despatch to the march of the Troops; and to all the measures necessary for the protection of the Southern States.

I have enclosed this letter, open, to the Board of War, that in case the Regiment in question is on the march from Maryland, it may be ordered to return without delay.[15]

I have the honor to be etc.

Go. Washington

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia September 10th 1780

My Dear Sir

This day I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the fifteenth, inclosing 365 Dollars.[16] The Bundle of money which you was so very kind as to procure for me I received. it came in very good time, but will not last long in this most Expensive place, And therefore must beg the favour of you to procure some more for me, as soon as you can, it must be of the old Continental money. The new will not pass here. [I] have been with the Coachmaker, He has promised your Chariot shall be finished by the last week in October.

Our Army continues much distressed for want of Meat. They get one meal only in three days, and how long that Scanty Allowance will Continue is uncertain.[17] The Jersey Inhabitants, in whose State the Army is, are plundered daily by partys from the Army, without a possibility of restraint. are not the worst of Consequences to be dreaded from the Armys thus . . .[18] for themselves—may it not be expected that even the people

[15] "A note dated 'War Office Septr. 11th 1780,' and signed 'B[enjamin] S[toddert]' has been added at the bottom of the above letter enumerating the clothing supplies needed for these Maryland troops."—Fitzpatrick.

[16] Letter not located.

[17] John Henry, Jr., wrote to Governor Lee in the same vein on Sept. 5; this letter is printed in E. C. Burnett (ed.) *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1924-1936), V, 360, and in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 80.

[18] One word indecipherable. The sense is "foraging."

of the Jerseys, who have upon all Occasions exerted themselves in Support of the Common Cause, will at length have their affections Alienated from the Army, & look upon them as plunderers, and Enemies, rather than the protectors of their Rights—is it not most shameful that our Army should be Starving, when the Country abounds with provisions? to what can it be imputed? is it from a want of inclination in the States, to comply with what has been repeatedly required of them by Congress? or is it from inattention to the public Cause, or inability to render the necessary Supplies? I hope neither of these is the Case. Satisfied I am, that our resources are abundantly Sufficient, and that the bulk of the people Continue firm in the opposition.

From the disjointed and deranged State of our finances proceed all our embarrassments, and how to extricate ourselves is the difficulty—There seems to be a fatality attending every measure, that has been adopted for that purpose. The most probable schemes have by some means or other been rendered ineffectual—The Resolves of the 18th March promised fair, but am afraid will not answer the end proposed.[19] how is the old money to be got in and new put into Circulation, while our Taxes are antiquated and paid of[f] in Certificates? Our present situation is truly alarming—our Army in want of every thing; no money in the Treasury, and our Credit exhausted.

Congress had advice today of the arrival of Admiral Rodney at the Hook on the 13th, with twelve Ships of the line, and four frigates, and that they had taken & brought into the Harbor, a French frigate—that 5000 Troops were to be sent from N. Y. to the Southward. it is reported that the Combined fleets from the West Indies is on the Coast—if so, the French will be superior, and may put a stop to the Embarkation at New York. Fryday last General Smallwood was by the unanimous Vote of Congress promoted to the Rank of Major General. Am Sorry to acquaint you that this morning dyed much lamented Mrs. Reed the Presidents Lady.[20] My Compliments to Mrs. Lee and am with the greatest esteem and regard Dr. Sir

Your Excellencys most hble Sert.

John Hanson

no late Accounts from the Southward

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia September 11th, 1780

Dear Sir:

I have been Confined to my room, a fortnight and was so unwell when the last post set out, that I was not able to write. I am now on the

[19] See *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-1937), XVI, 260 *ff.*

[20] Esther De Berdt Reed, wife of Joseph Reed, President (i. e., Governor) of Pennsylvania.

recovery and hope to be able to attend Congress in a day or two. You have had I understand as full Accounts from the Southward as any we have had. After the shameful flight of General Gates, it is with great pleasure we are informed that so many of our brave Officers and Soldiers are safe. Generals Smallwood and Gist have gained immortal Honor, to have been able to beat their way through a Surrounding Enemy with a handful of men, equals anything that has been done in this war. Smallwood ought and will I hope, in a few days, be promoted to a Maj. General and ought in my Opinion to take the Command of the Southern Army. General St. Clair [21] or some other brave officers, should Supercede Gates.

We are informed from the Southward that a pretty handsome affair has been lately performed by a Small Body of the Western Militia on the Borders of South Carolina. They were attacked by the Enemy's Cavalry—they Judiciously fell back into a thick wood, Sustained Several Warm Attacks, and at a period of the Action, when the Countenance of the Enemy began to fail, they Issued from their Cover, Charged them with Bayonets, took 40, and it said killed a greater number. This gallant affair was conducted on and in part by a Col. Williams, [of Md.?], Col. Clark of Georgia, and a Col. Shelby.[22]

It is reported & Credited by many, that a french fleet of 10 Sail of the line and some frigates are on the Coast. They were seen it is said a few days ago to the Northward of our Capes. The English fleet has left Rhode Island and steered towards New York. Our new raised Battalion is ordered by the General to the Southward. I have sent Mrs. Lees Shoes—price for making 360 Dolls. most enormous.[23]

With usual esteem & regard, I have the honor to be

Your Excellencys most hble Servt

John Hanson

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee

Enclosing copy of Intercepted Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour [24]

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia Sept. 23 1780

Dear sir,

For news I refer you to the enclosed paper, and am with the most perfect esteem

Your Excellancy's most humble Sert

John Hanson

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[21] Arthur St. Clair (1736-1818).

[22] Probably John C. Clark of Georgia and Isaac Shelby of Virginia (d. 1826). Probably Otho Holland Williams.

[23] Possibly he meant 3 *pairs* of shoes at $20 per pair, a total of $60.

[24] Copy of Cornwallis letter is printed in Jared Sparks (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* (Boston, 1834-1837), VII, 555-556. For details, see Ward, *loc. cit.*

I have the happiness to inform you that on Wednesday the 16th Instant, I totally defeated Gen. Gates' Army—100 were killed & wounded, about 800 were taken prisoners. We are in possession of 81 pieces of Brass Cannon all they had in the field all their Ammunition, Waggons, a great number of Arms, 136 Baggage Waggons[,] In short there never was a more complete Victory. I have written to Lieut. Colº Turnbull whom I have sent out to join Major Ferguson on little river to push on after Gen. Sumpter to the Waxaws, whose detachment is the only collected force of Rebels in this Country. Colº. Tarlton is in pursuit of Sumpter. Our loss is about 300 killed & wounded, Chiefly of the 33 Reg. and Volunteers of Ireland. I have given orders that all the Inhabitants of this province who have subscribed and have taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest Rigour, and also those who will not turn out, that they may be imprisoned, and their whole property may be taken away from them, or destroyed. I have ordered that Compensation, should be made out of their Estates to the persons who have been Injured or oppressed by them; I have ordered in the most positive manner that every Militia man, who hath borne arms with us, and that would join the Enemy, shall be immediately hanged; I desire you will take the most vigorous measures to punish the Rebels in the district in which you Command, and that you will obey in the Strictest manner the Directions I have given in this letter relative to the Inhabitants of this Country—

Cornwallis

August 1780.

Colonel William Fitzhugh of Chatham, grandson of William Fitzhugh of Eagle's Nest, was a neighbor and friend of Washington's, and also a friend of Governor Lee's, from their youth. Five letters to Lee on the subject of the Annapolis races, in which Fitzhugh's horses were entered, are in our collection and are full of interest.

One of Fitzhugh's two sons, Peregrine, wrote to Lee several times from the front at Yorktown, and will be quoted later. His second son, William, joined General Greene's division in the Southern Campaign.

WILLIAM FITZHUGH TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Low'r Marlboro ' 28 Augt 1780
Sunday

Dear Sir

I had the Honor to address you yesterday by Mr. Smith on the subject of Depredations committed by the Enemy at the Mouth of Patuxent &

Potomack Rivers; Since which I have advice by a Flatt immediately from Rousby Hall, that two Schooners & a Large Sloop of the Enemy came into the River & went to Town Creek, where there is a Publick Warehouse, & yesterday about 3 o'clock in the afternoon Fir'd several guns, & there Remain'd whilst my Flatt pass'd up the River; My Skipper says that He heard more firing of guns about 10 o'clock at Night, which he supposes were at the same place—

I think it is Probable that the Enemy have taken the Tob° out of Town Creek Warehouse, & that two of the above mention'd vessells were carried up for that Purpose.

When the Enemy surrounded my House on the 15th ult°, they went off in Hast, Expressing Apprehensions of Danger from the Militia.

But If in many Instances they should meet with no Opposition, as has been too much the case, I should not be surprised if they were to proceed up & Plunder every Warehouse on the River at least as far up as Benedict.

I wish the Extraordinary success they have had, may not Encourage a more considerable number of Privateers to come out from N. York. Indeed by the number of vessells they take, and men who enter into their Service, they will themselves soon become Formidable.

I have the Honor to be
with very sincere Regard
Yr Excellency's Affec & Obet. Sert.
William Fitzhugh

Christopher Richmond to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Hillsborough [, N. C.,] 16 October 1780

My Dear Sir

I have to acknowledge the Receipt of your very Kind Favor of the 26th. September,[25] and thank you in the fullest Manner for your very Kind Wishes contained therein—You will be pleased to make my most grateful Returns to your Lady for hers—

Whenever there is an Opportunity of communicating Intelligence quickly, I am always the most busy—and therefore can only make my Letters to my Friends very Short—Genl. Gates had early this Morning, Intelligence from Genl. Sumner [26] at the Yadkin [River], that the Enemy evacuated Charlotte at 4 o'Clock on the Evening of the 12th. Instant, making their Way to Beggar's Ferry on Catawba River; some people conjecture, with a Design of falling upon the Conquerers at King's Mountain; but it is conjectured here, with better Reasons; that Lord Cornwallis fearing he would be troubled in his post at Charlotte, is retreating, for his own Safety; by the Way of Catawba, towards Camden or Opposite

[25] Letter not located.
[26] Jethro Sumner (1733-1785), of North Carolina.

to it, on the Wateree, Westside:—Our Troops are not fit to march, for want of Shoes and Other Necessaries; however these are expected in a few Days, when I hope our Decampment will take place, and be followed by better Fortune than the Last. I am with Compliments to all Friends My Dear Sir

faithfully yours

Chris[r]. Richmond

Governor Lee

Colonel Henry Lee, Jr., better known as " Light Horse Harry," was one of the most picturesque characters of the Revolution.[27] His Light Dragoons are famous. His detailed account of André's execution is one of the most vivid that has come down to us. It is extremely unlikely that it has ever been printed.

HENRY LEE, JR. TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(Historical Society of Pennsylvania) [28]

Light Camp near Tappan, Oct. 4, 1780

Dear Sir:

Last night has produced the events which will bear a distinguished light in the Annals of America, the infamy of Mr. Arnold [29] and the death of Major André, Ad. Gen. of the British Army.[30]

Mr. Arnold has been a villain on a small scale, as well as on a great.[31] He has established lucrative connections with Sutton and Sutton's wife, and had made them the instruments of converting into money his embezzlement of public stores. He had deceived his wife, and had betrayed his friend, Major André.

This latter matter was perhaps unavoidable, thou' it is generally attributed to a pusillanimity inherent in the villain's breast, as if determined to exhibit to the world how deep in infamy, human nature is capable of descending; he is now, by violating his confidential communications with the Commander-in-Chief, pointing out to Sir Henry Clinton those characters in the city of New York, friendly to the American cause. He lives, but he lives to misery and anguish. The virtuous André is dead, but died with honor.

Perhaps history does not afford an instance of an execution similar to that of André, just and unavoidable; without the least particle of animosity in the sufferer.

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[27] (1756-1818), subsequently Governor of Virginia and the father of Robert E. Lee.

[28] Formerly in T. S. Lee Collection.

[29] Benedict Arnold (1741-1801).

[30] John André (1751-1780).

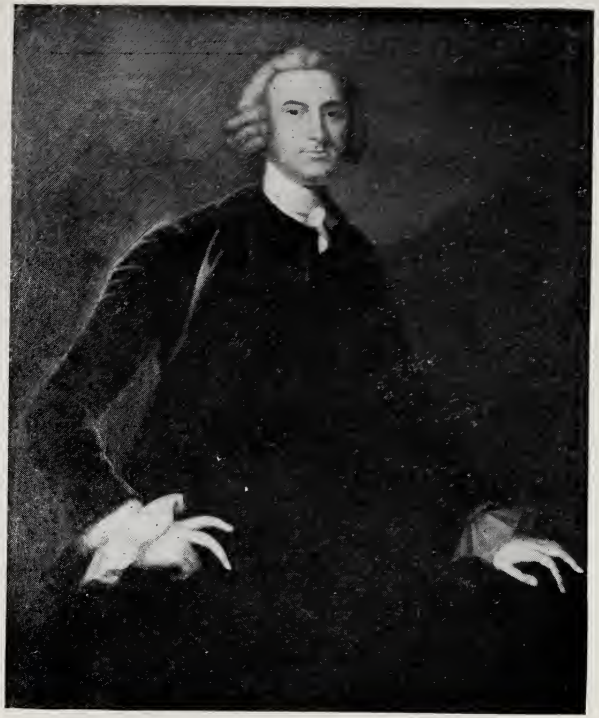
[31] Two recent accounts of this affair are found in Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of The American Revolution* (New York, 1941), and James T. Flexner, *The Traitor and The Spy* (New York, 1953).

The many tales which have gone forth relative to these transactions might render you anxious to hear a special relation of the whole adventure.

It appears that Gen. Arnold was the proposer of his intentions in a letr to Sir Henry Clinton. The point of time is not ascertained, tho' we have some reason to believe it originated soon after Gen. Clinton's return from South Carolina.

The object in view was the betraying West Point into the hands of the enemy. Appearances were to be kept up, the place was to have been surrendered on terms of capitulation & Mr. Arnold a General in our service on parole. In other words, the object was the subjugation of America. Sir Henry Clinton committed the management of this important business to Major André, a young gentleman equal in eminence to any the world ever produced. Major André came up the North river in an armed sloop, and lay near King's ferry, at which place we have two small lights. This ferry is distant from W. Point between 12 x 16 miles. Gen. Arnold by means of a Mr. John Smith, held a conference with Major André in the night on the shore of the N. river. From the place they adjourned to this Mr. Smith's house, one mile into the country. Here matters were completely fixed, the American Gibraltar betrayed, & the traitor secured, as to the reception of the bribe.

They prepared to return, Arnold to W. point, André to the Vulture. Some embarrassment arose as to getting on board again, the two peasants who had landed Major André, having been up the night before, and most of that night, were loth to assist when called on. It was then proposed to spend the day in secret at Smith's house. André consented. Arnold left him. In the evening, André & his guide Smith set out & by virtue of Gen. Arnold's pass, they uninterruptedly crossed King's Ferry. André left his regimental coat in Mr. Smith's house and wore one borrowed from Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith convoyed his charge safe to a solitude without the line of our usual patrols, and left him pushing on for New York. Fortunately when very near the enemy's advanced post, he met with three young militia men, whom quest of plunder had carried thus far. Major André accosted them, asking them from whence, they replyed from below. Above and below are country terms on the lines for the American & B. Armys. André in his transport of joy divulged to them that he was a Br. officer. The lads instantly seized him. He made every attempt on the virtue of his captors. Ten thousand guineas were offered to them, & every necessity of life was lavishly proffered. All in vain. André was brought a prisoner to our advanced guards. Papers announcing the object of his mission were found about him. Arnold's villainy was also discovered, yet so blundering was the officer in his measures that he continued to give the first notice of the capture of the spy to Mr. Arnold, & consequently furnished Arnold with time to escape. This was erroneous, not intentional. Arnold made the best use of this notice, & got to the Vulture in his barge under sanctity of a flag. The four bargemen whom he made use of on this occasion, were at his instance retained as prisoners of war. André & Smith were brought to Camp for trial, the former was condemned, the latter is still under trial. The valorous André, altho' con-



IGNATIUS DIGGES (1707-1785)
Portrait by John Wollaston
Collection Mrs. Outerbridge Horsey

MARY DIGGES LEE (1745-1805)
Portrait by John Hesselius

scious of his having become a spy without intention & by accident, yet in a let[r] which he wrote to his general, he approves the propriety of his sentence. Time was given for intercession in behalf of the unfortunate André. Gen. Roberson came to our advanced post with some trifling request, and brought two civilians to prove to Gen. Washington that André was no spy, notwithstanding André's let[r]. to the contrary. In consequence of this overture from the enemy, the execution of the sentence was postponed from Sunday, five o'clock, to Monday twelve. Nothing further was offered by the enemy, & the eminent youth died under a gallows. This officer was the particular favorite of his general & the most promising genius of the army.

How cold are the friendships of men high in power. André's death does honor to human nature; for my part I declare, I would rather be André than be alike to nine tenths of the sentimental world. We have not yet heard Sir H. Clinton's declaration since the execution of his friend. I dare say he will be full of menaces.

Our army continues on their old ground at Tappan. No prospect of any action. A powerful concentration is nearly completed at N. York. I believe they will pay a visit to your neighbor. Wisdom & vigor or destruction, is the watch word for the Southern States. It is said the fleet with troops sail tomorrow.

I have the honor to be with every sentiment of respect
& esteem Your aff. relation & old friend

Henry Lee Jun[r]

His Exc'y
T. Sim Lee Esq.

[Endorsed in another hand:]
This is a very interesting account of the treason of Arnold & the capture of André & his execution, drawn up by Col. Henry Lee, the celebrated partiz[an] officer of the Revolution, addressed to his relative, Thomas Sim Lee Esq., then Governor of Maryland, given me by his son, John Lee Esq. in 1825

R. Gilmor [32]

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia Oct[o]. 9[th] 1780

My dear Sir,

I am obliged to you for your favors of the 5th and 6th Instant.[33] The officer who was intrusted by Maj. Giles [34] to procure the necessary Cloathing for our new regiment, has been supplied with Shirts and other Cloathing Sufficient for those Troops, and I believe left this place Eight or

[32] Robert Gilmor (1808-1875), of Baltimore, early American autograph collector.
[33] Council to Delegates in Congress, Oct. 6, 1780, is printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 317.
[34] Probably Edward Giles of Maryland.

ten days ago. Six hundred Tents are preparing for the Southern Army, and will be ready (the Board of War say) and sent forward in about three or four weeks—these are all that can be had at this place, and will be insufficient to supply the Army to the Southward, and as they will I suppose be immediately sent to Virginia, the regiment at Annapolis will have but little Chance for Coming in for a part of them unless they shall have joined the Army before the Tents Arrive. A great quantity of Canvas is now lying, and has been for some time, at Boston—yet so it has been managed that it has not been brought forward, and the season being so far advanced, our people must, I am afraid, Suffer greatly before it can be transported so great a distance. André was hanged on Monday last. He made no discoveries. He was asked at the gallows if he had anything to say. His answer was that he was not afraid to dye—that he was prepared for it, but was concerned as to the manner—that he would much rather have been shot, and desired that it might be observed that his behaviour was becoming that of a Gentleman and a Soldier. He was dressed in a new suit of Regimentals with his sword by his side.

Smith, it is said, will share the same fate in a little time[.] [35] Old Franks is taken up on suspicion of treasonable practices, and Imprisoned.[36] His son, one of Arnold's Aides, it is said is gone off.

On the 5th Instant the Commander-in-Chief was by a Resolve of Congress directed to order A Court of Inquiry on the Conduct of Gen. Gates, and to appoint an officer to take Command of the Southern Army untill such enquiry be made.[37] Some honorable notice will be taken of the Baron de Kalb who fell so gloriously in the Cause of America—and the thanks of Congress will be returned to Generals Smallwood and Gist, and to the officers and men for their Conduct and bravery in the late action near Camden. All expectations of the Arrival of the French fleet are now at an end. Ternay,[38] by erecting fortifications on different parts of Rhode Island has secured his fleet and the Army against any Attempts of the Enemy. This being the case and Clinton having failed in his designs against West Point, it is more than probable his next object will be to the Southward. The Climate is favorable for a Winter Campaign, and a Considerable number of men may be spared from New York without Hazarding that place, as no attempt can be made on it by us, while the enemy is so far superior at Sea.

I have inclosed you the Crises Extraordinary [39] upon finance and the last papers, and am with Complements to Mrs. Lee

Dear Sir, With great esteem & regard

Your most hble Sert

John Hanson

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[35] Joshua Hett Smith was acquitted on Oct. 26 on charge of complicity with Arnold.

[36] David Solebury Franks, aide of Arnold.

[37] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVIII, 906.

[38] Possibly Jean Baptiste Ternant (d. 1816), a French officer.

[39] Thomas Paine's *Crises Extraordinary*, issued in October, 1780.

The Major Set out this morning on his return home—I write in great haste, indeed there is so little time between the Post coming in and going out, that we have Scarce time to write at all.

His Excellency, Governor Lee

George Plater [40] and John Henry to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadel[a]. Oct[r]. 9th. 1780.

Dear Sir

Before Maj[r]. Giles left Town we had some expectations of procuring a number of Tents from the State of Pennsylvania, but they have since informed us, through their Delegates, that they cannot supply us. The Board of War will have in the course of some weeks six hundred for the Southern Army. As many as may be necessary for the New Regt we shall request to be sent to Annapolis or such place as you may direct. If there are other recruits who will stand in need of them, we beg to be informed of it.

The shirt which detained Maj[r] Giles' officer was ready some days ago and we hope he is now on his way to Maryland with the clothing.

Mr. Matlock,[41] the Secretary of Pennsylvania, informed us yesterday that they had received intelligence of an embarkation of all Regiments now going forward at New-York. It is spoken of with some confidence. We have received no intimation of it from the General, which induces me to believe the report is groundless, as we cannot suppose so important a movement would escape his observation.

Maj[r] André, the British adjutant, was executed on Monday last. He disclosed nothing as was reported; but observed to those who were about him that he died like a soldier & a man of honour, lamenting the failure of his undertaking and rejoicing that he died for his King and Country. The General has not informed Congress of the particulars of this transaction. When he does we shall have the Honor of communicating them to you.

Congress has directed the Commander in Chief to hold a Court of inquiry on the Conduct of Maj[r] General Gates, in the late action near Camden and to appoint an officer to take the command of the Southern army. General Smallwood has lately been honoured with the command of all the militia of North Carolina by the General Assembly of that State.

Congress is happy to find that the requisition for cattle is likely to be carried into effect. We hope as little delay as possible will attend this

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[40] (1735-1792), of "Sotterley," St. Mary's Co. He was Governor of Maryland, 1791-1792, and was succeeded by Lee.

[41] Timothy Matlack (1730-1829), subsequently member of Congress from Pennsylvania.

business. The distresses of the army still continue and we wish we could point out to you the period when they would probably terminate.

We have the honour to be sir,
with the highest respect and
Esteem your obedient servants

Geo. Plater
J. Henry

Governor Lee had married in 1771 Mary Digges, the only daughter of Ignatius Digges, Esq., of Melwood, descended from a distinguished English family. His great-grandfather Sir Edward Digges, had been Governor of Virginia, in 1665.

Mary Digges Lee to George Washington
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Sir,

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that the Ladies of Maryland have manifested their gratitude, by subscribing a Considerable Sum for the relief of the American army. They are daily depositing the money in my hands, and I flatter myself the collection will be completed in a short time. I must therefore solicit your Excellency's directions, as to the manner in which it shall be disposed of. If for necessaries which may be procured in this State, it will give me pleasure to assist in the execution of your orders. At the same time it may also be necessary that your Excellency should fix their destination—whether for the Northern or Southern army.

I am Sir,
with the highest
respect and Esteem,
your most Humble Servant

Mary Lee

Annapolis September 27th, 1780.

George Washington to Mary Digges Lee [42]
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress) [43]

Head Quarters near Passaic Falls
Octobr. 11th, 1780.

Madam,

I am honored with your Letter of the 27th of Septr. and cannot forbear taking the earliest moment to express the high sense I entertain of the patriotic exertions of the Ladies of Maryland in favor of the Army.

[42] Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XX, 168. MS in handwriting of David Humphreys; the words "Shirts and Socks (black)" written in by Washington.
[43] Formerly in T. S. Lee Collection.

In answer to your enquiry respecting the disposal of the *Gratuity*, I must take the liberty to observe; that it appears to me, the *money* which has been, or may be collected, cannot be expended in so eligible and beneficial a manner, as on the purchase of Shirts and Socks (black) for the use of the Troops in the Southern Army.

The polite offer you are pleased to make of your further assistance in the execution of *this liberal design*, and the generous disposition of the Ladies, insure me of its success, and cannot fail to entitle both yourself and them, to the warmest gratitude of those who are the objects of it.

I am, &c.

G. W.

Mrs. Lee, Annapolis

Henry Lee, Jr., to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Sir

I have the honor to introduce to your Excellency, Captain Rudolph of the Legion Cavalry.[44] He waits on Government for the purpose of negociating public business.

I take the liberty to request your Excellency's giving him your assistance

I have the honor to be
with sentiments of singular
esteem and respect.

Your Excellency's Ob. Servt.

Henry Lee, Junior

Nov. 3, 1780

His Excellency Governor Lee

Thomas Sim Lee to Nathanael Greene
(Maryland Historical Society)

Annapolis Decemr. 9th 1780

Sir

The letter you were pleased to honor me with took the earliest opportunity of laying before the General Assembly of Maryland together with its enclosure.[45]

The deranged state of our finances necessarily engaged the attention of the Legislature previous to their entering fully on the important business you have recommended to their consideration: As yet, your requisition for horse to mount Col. [Henry] Lee's Dragoons is only complied with.

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[44] John Rudolph (d. 1782), of Cecil Co., Maryland.

[45] Greene's letter, dated November 10, 1780, with enclosure, is printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 176-177. The originals are in the Hall of Records; see *Calendar of Md. State Papers—The Brown Books*, items 402-403.

The preparatory business being nearly completed, necessary supplies are the matters next in course. Permit me, Sir, to call your attention for a moment from the great scene of business which you are engaged to the situation of Col. Luke Marbury of the Militia of this State, a Prisoner on Long Island. This gentlemen, who was taken in the Battle of German Town, unfortunately could not be included in the late exchange because his rank would not apply to any officer prisoner of the United States. His manly sufferings and worthy family influence me powerfully to entreat your interposition in his favor and as I have no doubt of your having the inclination and the power to relieve him from a tedious and irksome imprisonment I beg leave to suggest the propriety of offering one of the Tory Colonels lately captured at or near King's Mountain in exchange

I have the honor to be,
with great personal
Respect and attachment
Sir
Your Most Hble Sevt.
Tho. S. Lee

The Honorable Major
General Greene
Commanding in the
Southern Department

Viscount de Noailles commanded the Soissonnois regiment, which fought brilliantly at Yorktown. This regiment, one of the proudest and most ancient of France, wore grenadier caps decorated with gay white and rose plumes. After his wife's tragic death on the guillotine, de Noailles departed for the West Indies to fight the British. He was there fatally wounded. His heart, enclosed in a silver jewel box by his devoted grenadiers, was carried into battle on their regimental standard, and finally returned to his sorrowing family in France.

After the Revolutionary Campaign, Count Charles Damas returned to France, and was instrumental, together with Count Fersen, in aiding Marie Antoinette and the King in their ill-fated attempt to escape. While in this country he kept a diary.

George Washington to Thomas Sim Lee [46]

(Chapin Library, Williamstown, Mass.) [47]

New Windsor, [N. Y.,] Dec. 8th, 1780

Sir,

I have the honor of introducing to your Excellency, the Marquis de la Fayette, Majr. General in our Army and an officer of rank in those of

[46] Not printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, but referred to, XX, 440 n. Entirely in Washington's handwriting.

[47] Formerly in T. S. Lee Collection.

France—This Gentlemans character, illustrious birth and fortune, can not be unknown to you, though you may be unacquainted with his person.

I should be wanting in that justice which is due to his great merit—to his early attachment to the American Cause—and to his powerful support of it here and at the Court of Versailles, was I to permit him to depart for the Southern Army without this testimony of the Sense I entertain of his worth, & recommendation of him to your attention.

He will probably be accompanied by his brother-in-law, the Viscount de Noailles, & Count Damas, Gent^{n}. of Family fortune & Rank in the French Army at Rhode Island, whose zeal to serve America has prompted them to make a Winter Campaign to the Southward, if permission can be obtained from the Count de Rochambeau, to be absent from their respective commands so long.

With much esteem & respect

I have the honor to be

Y^{r}. Excell^{ys}. Most Ob^{t}. & H^{ble}. Ser.

G^{o}. Washington

His Excell^{y}
Gov. Lee.

The Count de Custine had been appointed a lieutenant in the French army at the age of nine. His brilliant career was ended by the guillotine—" a crime committed in the name of liberty."

He kept a diary while in this country, unfortunately lost. The regiment of Saintonge, which he commanded, was one of the oldest in France, with a heroic past, formed in 1684 from an ancient regiment of Navarre. It was one of the seven French regiments taking part in the siege of Yorktown.

CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE TO THOMAS SIM LEE [48]
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia — Dec. 18/80

Sir: This letter will be presented to your Excellency by the Count de Custine, Colonel of the Regiment of Saintonge, now at Newport.

He is employing the leisure of winter in seeing the parts of this continent, meriting the attention of a stranger who has very limited time at his disposal.

He specially desired to devote a few days to seeing something of Maryland.

I much hope that he may enjoy the advantages of this journey which he anticipates, and I cannot wish him a better means of doing so, than to

[48] In French; translation by H. L. P.

address himself to your Excellency, whose friendship and good dispositions towards my compatriots I well know.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere attachment, Your Excellency's

Very humble and very obedient servant

Chev. de La Luzerne

The Bourbonnais regiment, one of the most ancient and honorable of France, distinguished itself very specially at Yorktown. The Marquis de Montmorency, its colonel, was among the 6000 sent over under Rochambeau by Louis XVI, as allies to our American cause.

CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE TO THOMAS SIM LEE [49]
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia, December 18, 1780

Sir,

This letter will be presented by the Marquis de Laval Montmorency, Colonel of the Regiment of Bourbonnais, now at Newport.

He has wished to profit by the inaction of the Army during the winter, by seeing several of the States of this Continent.

He proposes spending several days at Annapolis, and although circumstances will not permit him to render his stay as long as he could have wished, he has a great desire to be known by your Excellency.

Your favorable dispositions towards my countrymen, do not permit me to doubt that he will receive a welcome reception from you.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere attachment,

Your Excellency's very humble
and very obedient servant.

Chev. de la Luzerne

St. Maime commanded the historic Soissonnois regiment, which had been formed in 1598 from a group of "very select gentil hommes." It's motto was "What does it matter? We have won the battle," the words of a sergeant killed in the hour of victory.

St. Maime was entertained by Lee, both in Annapolis and at Lee's country home, "Needwood," as is testified to by a quite long charming letter found among the Lee papers written by St. Maime after this visit.

The Honorable Arthur Dillon, Colonel of the Dillon Regiment,

[49] In French; translation by H. L. P.

after fighting bravely for us in the cause of freedom, lost his life, with so many French aristocrats, on the scaffold in the French revolution.

His daughter escaped from France, and wrote her memoirs, many years later, in the well-known book, *Journal d'une Femme de Cinquante Ans.*

(The spelling St. Maime, rather than St. Meme, St. Mesme, or any other, is used since the gentleman so signed himself in his letters in the T. S. Lee Collection.)

LAFAYETTE TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

March the 9th, 1781

Sir

This letter will be delivered to your excellency By Count de St Meme and Count de Dillon, Colonels, and Monsieur de St. Victor Captain in the french Army whom I beg leave to introduce to Your Excellency's acquaintance.

They intend to embark on Board the small fleet that carries our detachment—but I have told them, and I Request your excellency to Hold up the idea, that the french fleet Having left the Bay I am ordered immediately to join General Green's Army. I think it should Be well to make some preparations on the Road from Annapolis for the Reception of troops.

With the Highest Respect I have
the Honor to be

Your Excellency's

Most obedient Humble
Servant

Lafayette

Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot commanded the British fleet. Commander Déstouches commanding the French fleet stationed at Newport, where General Rochambeau was in command of the French army, had left Newport on March 8th, arriving in the Chesapeake a week later. The issue of his encounter with Arbuthnot was disputed. The French fleet returned to Newport. Marquis de Laval, C^{te} de Dillon, & M. de St. Victor, have already been noted.

Saint Maime to Thomas Sim Lee [50]

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia
3d April, 1781

Your Excellency,

I waited until having some good news to announce to you, before having the honour of thanking you for the kindnesses received from you and your family in the country, as well as in town.

The evidences of your kindness are too well engraved on my heart, ever to be effaced. Both my curiosity and my pleasure were entirely satisfied by my trip on the Bay. Only the military side was cause for regret. The most horrible fog, and consequent separation of our ships, caused the French fleet to arrive at the same moment as the British. The combat of the 16th instant, between these two fleets gave great honour to the French. One has only to read the account of the British admiral to judge of the glory acquired by the French Commander. This success was not the whole of his manoevres.

The "Conquèrant" fought against the "Europa" and the "Royal Oak," but the cost was high.

Marquis de Laval, who was on board was slightly wounded. I lost thirty of my grenadiers and two officers, a precious troop whom I regret infinitely.

I hope the activity of the new Secretary of the Navy in France, will put us in a position to act with greater numbers in a manner to make us more useful to our Allies.

Permit me to offer my respects to Mrs. Lee. Comte de Dillon will be more fortunate than I if he passes through Annapolis on his return. He should return by carriage. I was unfortunately obliged to leave him at Williamsburg, on account of a very severe sore throat.

Permit me to enclose the receipt for the two horses procured from the Quarter Master of Annapolis by M. de Saint Victor and myself. Colonel Dillon still had his when we left him.

Pray do not doubt the sentiments of gratitude and esteem with which I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's

Very humble and very obedient servant

Saint Maime

(*To be continued in the September number.*)

[50] In French; translation by H. L. P.

SPOILS, SOILS, AND SKINNER

By Harold A. Bierck, Jr.

(Concluded from Vol. XLIX, No. 1, March, 1954, p. 21)

II.

EXACTLY what moved John Stuart Skinner, the Baltimore postmaster, to enter the uncharted field of farm publication has yet to be determined. Pleasant memories of his adolescent farm rearing, possession of two plantations—one inherited by his wife [106]—and his literary experience in defending the insurgent cause are all feasible motives. Whatever the source of his desire to create a weekly farm journal, his wealth gained from his shares in the American Concern and the loan to Carrera enabled him to gamble on the venture, using the press of the Maryland *Censor*.[107] The *Censor,* which, " devoted to the Patriotic cause," had teemed with South American affairs,[108] gave way on April 2, 1819, to Skinner's new hope and hobby. The first issue of *The American Farmer* stated that it was his " great aim and chief pride to collect information from every source, on every branch of Husbandry . . . " and to discover " the best system " for " all circumstances." One month and three numbers later he reported that all numbers had been exhausted and that he was planning a second edition of the first; expenses had fallen but little short of income and he expected an increase of several thousand subscribers in a year or so.[109] His chief problem was good copy and he urged interested farmers to write down their experiences and results and forward same to him for publication.[110] The success of this latter sug-

[106] *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVII, 199.

[107] Pinkett, " The *American Farmer,*" 147; Clarence S. Brigham, *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (1915), 157.

[108] David Porter to Joel R. Poinsett, October 19, 1818, Poinsett Papers.

[109] Skinner to William E. Williams, May 6, 1819, Otho Holland Williams Papers, Maryland Historical Society. His " right hand man " was Dr. Gideon B. Smith who aided him with the *Farmer* and *Turf Register* (*Turf, Field, and Farm,* March 30, 1888).

[110] *Ibid.*

gestion can be noted in virtually every issue. Subscriptions—at $4. a year or $5. to insure guaranteed delivery—never exceeded his expectations although many farmers acted as commission agents in securing new readers.[111] Hailed as an innovation, the paper won for Skinner immediate laurels, was soon imitated but never duplicated. Non-political, it introduced a lady's column, promoted field sports, and emphasized above all else experimentation with soils, crops, and animals.

To further agricultural innovations, the former " pirate " turned to the area that he knew best. Diplomatic agents, commercial travellers, but principally naval officers were asked to bring home likely specimens. Latin American seeds and plants were then nurtured on his own farms, and/or dispatched to his subscribers upon their request. Results with these imports were noted in the *Farmer* and data printed respecting the experiments of other far-sighted agronomists such as William Prince, Long Island owner of one of America's first large hot houses. Extracts from works relating the glories and wonders of South American flora and fauna, coupled with engravings—a Skinner spare-no-expense item —enabled the readers to become familiar with highland and tropical plant life.[112] Skinner was justly proud of his exchange program and in February, 1831, reminded his readers,

> Were it practicable to make a list of the various seeds, vegetables, fruits, fowls, animals, machines, specimens of new manufactures, &c, which have been sent or brought from various parts of the world to the office of the American Farmer, during the last ten years, and through it interchanged and disseminated, the *aggregate* would create surprise with those who may have noticed only a few of the cases. . . .[113]

The first such inter-American exchange was a family affair. Judge Bland brought back samples of Chilean wheat which were distributed to various farmers. The results occasioned a notice in the *Farmer* dealing with the growth of Chilean wheat and a

[111] For example see a six-page leaflet memorandum of subscriptions for John S. Skinner's *American Farmer,* 1822-1826, Peter and Hugh Minor Notebooks, 1783-1827, Duke University Library.

[112] For example see *A. F.,* III, 75, 77, 84, 95, 107, wherein are included prints of a Peruvian llama, vicuña, and alpaca.

[113] *A. F.,* XII, 398. Unless the citation is to the contrary all additional references are to the *American Farmer,* volume and page. The significance of this undertaking is revealed by Knowles A. Ryerson, " History and Significance of the Foreign Plant Introduction Work of the United States Department of Agriculture," *Agricultural History,* VI (1933), 110-138.

subsequent publication attested to its wonders![114] The success of this strain led David Porter to write the *National Intelligencer* in 1821 that he still had some " chili wheat " to distribute and would give one quart to any who so requested.[115] Interest in foreign grains remained high and in 1826 Skinner received " four small parcels of wheat of a very extraordinary kind " from Sonora in Mexico.[116] Three years later, Fernando Fairfax, another advocate of Latin-American independence, informed Skinner that his " early Mexican [wheat] is nearly ripe." [117] In 1829 Skinner also distributed *trigo recio* from Spain.[118] Great hopes were held for aracacha. This umbelliferous plant with its edible farinaceous root was and is a northern South American food staple. Its local fame had been spread by travellers and in travel books. Late in 1821 Skinner received a small box of the plant from General John D'Evereux, of the Colombian army, late of Ireland, Maryland, and Buenos Aires. The *Farmer's* editor warmed to its possibilities and promptly quoted copious extracts from a manuscript journal of travels in the Kingdom of New Granada by Palacio Fajardo wherein the aracacha was described in detail.[119] Apparently few were interested in this specimen; yet five years later, as if to stimulate interest, Skinner printed a letter from W. J. Miller of Holmesburg requesting information as to the plant's growth in this country as he had heard the aracacha yielded " a food similar to the potatoe, but much less flatulent . . ." and that it is " said to be extremely grateful to the stomach, and so easy of digestion that it is usual to give it to convalescents with weak stomachs." [120] In 1827 George M. Brooke of Florida replied, " We have it in great perfection," [121] and the year following William Prince wrote about the plant, enclosing an account of it published by a society in Jamaica, and commenting " that two of the finest varieties are now under culture at my establishment, where they flourish with little care. . . . As I have at Present," Prince continued, " above 30 fine flourishing plants, the period cannot be far distant, when they will be so extensively increased in our country, as to form an article useful in domestic economy, more particularly from the circumstance of the climate of our southern states being so suitable

[114] I, 156-157, 193-194, 231.
[115] III, 271.
[116] VIII, 66.
[117] XI, 116.
[118] XII, 218.
[119] III, 327-328.
[120] VIII, 58.
[121] IX, 40.

for their development." [122] The last mention of aracacha is in a reprint from the New York *Farmer* consisting of a report by Samuel L. Mitchill, the dean of American naturalists, concerning his hot house production of the Colombian plant.[123]

Skinner's promotion of "genuine Havana sweet scented tobacco" was expected of a southern editor. It rankled him, as Joseph M. White of the House of Representatives wrote "that the United States are paying annually several millions of dollars for West Indian productions that can be cultivated with success in Florida" and other southern states.[124] Furthermore, this was a gentleman's smoke and, to prove his point, Skinner quoted "the great orator [William] Pinkney" as saying "that he could never *think* so deeply, or with so much consciousness of studying with effect, as when smoking a fine cigar." [125] Therefore Skinner followed the efforts of many to cultivate the Cuban weed. In a September, 1822, issue he related the efforts of A. W. Foster to grow from imported Cuban seed, mentioning that the plants reached a height of "from 20 to 39 inches with from 12 to 20 leaves each." After noting that this tobacco sold for $80 a hundred in Havana he remarked that he had some of Foster's leaves rolled "and tried by good judges, who think they partake somewhat of the Spanish Cigar." [126] In 1827 he reported that a Cuban correspondent, who was sending him "seeds of the very finest tobacco" stressed that in Cuba the yellow leaf is not necessarily the best but that "lightness, thinness and flavour of the leaf" determined quality and price on the Island.[127] Within two years his followers were informed that he had taken steps to procure Cuban seed from Anthony Faulac, "that highly respectable and trust-worthy commercial agent at Havana . . .," who would also supply "our friends who are connoisseurs of that sweet scented plant." [128] But after a decade of observance Skinner concluded that all attempts to duplicate the Cuban plant were abortive. The first two growths were similar in taste to the original but the third could not match it. Only for Florida did he hold out hopes for its cultivation.[129]

[122] X, 123-124, 133-134.
[123] VII, 325.
[124] IX, 337-338.
[125] XII, 398.
[126] IV, 191-192.
[127] VIII, 388.
[128] XI, 87.
[129] XII, 398. Skinner also received and distributed tobacco seed from Venezuela, South America's leading producer of that plant (XII, 44).

As with wheat and tobacco so with sugar and cotton, but to a lesser degree. The desire to duplicate Cuban sugar, the plant and its refinement, was evident in the South but not in the *American Farmer* for the years 1819-1831. Its editor included but one article on sugar and this concerned its manufacture in Cuba.[130] Two mentions of cotton seed importation occur in 1819 issues. The earliest concerns the efforts of George M. Troup, former Senator from Georgia, to obtain two or three casks of Brazilian seed in an effort to avoid the disease called rot. "The experiment," Troup wrote, "will be decisive. If the evil originate with fly, the insect will pierce, without distinction, the Georgia and Brazilian plant." [131] The results are not recorded. The second inclusion respecting cotton related the securing by Colonel Thomas Tenant, former privateer speculator turned merchant, of "a quantity of cotton in the seed, from Carthagena," Colombia. The article noted further that the seed was good and that there existed a wish to obtain more of it "for our southern states. . . ." [132] Again no comment follows as to its success or failure in American soil.

Information regarding the potato of the southland first appeared in 1825. In that year Skinner published an anonymous letter revealing that Commodore Hull had sent Skinner for transfer to the writer what he supposed to be "the tubers of the common potato found wild in Peru." The correspondent had previously instructed the Commodore in the importance of this vegetable, first "because for nearly two centuries, it was believed to be a Virginian plant and called in Europe the Virginia potato 2nd Because Humboldt, and Bonpland declared that it was not a native of any part of North America, [and] 3rd Because the English botanists have . . . procured the wild potato, and have deemed it an object, at least, of great curiosity. . . . On receiving Commodore Hull's package," the anonymous contributor went on, "I at once thought there had been an error, that the tubers sent were not those of the solanum tuberosum." Bigelow and Nuttall, heroic botanists, confirmed his suspicions, hence he applied to higher naval authority. "I have written to Mr. Southard, secretary of the navy," he wrote Skinner, "requesting him (if not an improper request) to forward my letter to Commodore Hull,

[130] XI, 25. [131] I, 237. [132] I, 255. [133] VII, 44-45.

and to desire him to procure the true tubers." Commodores, apparently, did not know their potatoes. The last mention of the potato came in 1830, a quotation from the *Massachusetts Spy*: "The discovery of America gave to the civilized world, in the potato, an acquisition of more importance than the possession of all her mines of Silver and gold." [134] Commodore Jones' botanical error cast further suspicion on those helpful naval officers. He brought some alfalfa seeds from Chile to Skinner reporting them to be *trifolium alpestre,* but they turned out to be nothing more than *Medicago sativa,* the common lucerne or alfalfa. One planter of this Chilean seed recorded that "It succeeded very well, but is not likely to supplant the red clover, among our farmers." [135]

Another correspondent recommended the importation of Spanish American vines in order to improve that "National Industry." [136] Ever alert for suggestions, Skinner obtained samples of a grape with which a Pennsylvania correspondent had great success.[137] He also reported that William Prince was seeking the seed of Mexican grapes,[138] and that interest was evident in the raising of quinoa. This root was delivered from the *Farmer's* officers to one Ohio and two Pennsylvania hopefuls but all reported complete failure in their efforts to grow it.[139] But Prince, the king of plant men, informed him that he had been successful in growing the root after the seed had been immersed in hot water and requested the editor to send him all the quinoa seed received from his South American correspondents.[140] Other vegetables that passed through Skinner's hands included the Brazilian bean, dark brown in color, with seeds of a beautiful scarlet which he himself grew, and the coconut squash from Peru which "by boiling . . . is converted to a tender and delicate sauce, of remarkable sweetness, and excellent when eaten cold as well as hot." [141] The weekly abounds in requests for seed, such as the Angola Pea grown in the West Indies, and the meloncito de olor from Colombia which, when dried, was used to "place in drawers with cloths to which it communicates a considerable portion of its delicious odour. Should this [account] meet the eye of an American naval officer, or supercargo or captain of a merchant ship as it will

[134] XI, 339.
[135] X, 363.
[136] I, 280.
[137] IX, 252.
[138] IX, 12.
[139] IX, 252, 363, 410-411.
[140] XI, 20.
[141] VI, 72; VII, 325.

certainly do if copied by some of our daily papers," Skinner commented, "we make no doubt the Meloncito de Olor would soon after be transplanted to North America." [142] Lengthy descriptions of cacao trees, the love-apple or tomato-berry, agave, Cuban coffee, Brazilian tea, detailed accounts of the cow trees of Caracas, and the raising of cochineal, were included for the edification of the reader.[143]

Although the practical animal world of Latin America had less to offer than the vegetable, those beasts of potential commercial importance were not overlooked by Skinner. In reprinting a committee report of the Agricultural Society of Pendleton, South Carolina, he demonstrated to his following the value of the South American mule. The mule, the report ran, in that area had long been considered of more value than a horse as it combined the virtues of both ox and horse.[144] Within a few years advertisements appeared in the *Farmer* offering in one case "A young Jack, three years old; out of a Jennet imported from Rio de Janeiro, formerly the property of our minister there," and in another "A fine high spirited Jackass, six years old, imported from South-America, remarkable for vigour and the qualities of his stock." [145] Concerning the Mexican hog or *sus pecari,* he quoted in full a letter from the renowned S. L. Mitchill. The Philadelphia naturalist told how, in 1824, he had imported this species from Venezuela, sending it to Long Island for breeding. There it was discovered that these hogs had a propensity to attack human beings, were very mischievous, did not accumulate fat, and possessed an obstinate and perverse temper. "That beside their smallness, leanness, and other disagreeable qualities," Mitchill explained, "their surly and indomitable disposition renders them a great torment on a farm or plantation," and they were very spiteful against Negroes and particularly prone to attack them.[146] In 1821 Skinner ran four articles telling of the wonder of what he termed "Peruvian Sheep," namely the Llama, vicuña, alpaca, and huanco, written by the one American who had had more experience in Latin American commerce than any other alive at the

[142] V, 15; IX, 92.
[143] IV, 145; V, 188; VI, 284; IX, 340; X, 204; XI, 356; XX, 168-169; VII, 95.
[144] III, 220.
[145] IX, 63, 136.
[146] VII, 405.

time—the merchant, adventurer, and author, William Davis Robinson. Skinner, in complete agreement with Robinson's suggestion that these wool-bearing animals should be imported, concluded the series with the hint that members of the American squadron about to leave for the Pacific would find the subject so worthy of attention that they would bring back samples of all four species.[147] Late in the 1820's, David Dixon Porter took time off from his studies of Spanish in Mexico [148] to dispatch to Skinner "some large fowls, in size between the barn-door fowl and turkey, called . . . powees." For this deed, the young Porter received the Skinner accolade of "Chip off the Old Block and a good one." [149]

In a September, 1828, issue Skinner almost jubilantly expounded: "It has been our good luck through the agency of naval officers, our consuls abroad, and merchants . . . to have been instrumental in introducing a great variety of vegetables, grains, fruits, fowls, and animals which have never before been received in America." [150] Whether or not he got his "Peruvian sheep" in this shipment is not recorded; however, he did obtain the Canta Galla or Brazilian singing cock. This barnyard curiosity was made known to Skinner by his good friend José Silvestre Rebello, Brazilian Minister to the United States. It was the same Rebello who, at the suggestion of Skinner, placed a silver cup at the disposal of the Maryland Agricultural Society to be granted "for the ram, which, being shorn upon the ground, yielded the greatest weight of picklock wool." W. R. Dickinson of Steubenville, first winner of the Revello Cup, wrote Skinner, in July, 1826: "I . . . shall treasure the cup, this offering of a distinguished foreigner, whose publick spirit will be long remembered in our country, as a trophy of inestimable value. . . ." [151] Of such things is compounded real friendship among peoples.

Of greatest significance and value, though not so recognized at the time, of the Skinner importations from South America was guano. It was first brought from Peru by Midshipman Bland,

[147] III, 75-77, 84, 95, 107.
[148] Biographical Sketch, David Dixon Porter Papers (Library of Congress).
[149] *Plough, Loom, and Anvil,* I, 253-254.
[150] X, 208.
[151] VIII, 208. Rebello sent and carried to Brazil blooded bulls and cows, cotton, and gins (A. P. Whitaker, "Jose Silvesre Revello: The First Diplomatic Representative of Brazil in the United States," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* XX [1940], 400).

Skinner's young brother-in-law. Apparently well-acquainted with this bird manure through his reading, Skinner turned the sample over to the "obliging Professor of Agricultural Chemistry," Dr. Ducatel, for analysis. The good professor dutifully made his tests and favored Skinner with a historical sketch of guano written in the 18th century by Antonio de Ulloa. This piece which told of the Chincha Islands off the Peruvian coast near the city of Iquiqui, appeared in the *Farmer* the day before Christmas in 1824; further, it described the 50 to 60 feet strata in which guano was found, to which Skinner appended that the samples brought by Bland had "a saline taste, and a slight castoreum odour. Exposed to fire, it blackens," he reported, "and emits strong amoniacal fumes, as observed by Sir H. Davy." But as to the birds' being responsible for this wonder, he was doubtful, stating "but it can scarcely be possible, that such immense strata, should have accumulated in that way alone." Regardless of its origin, he recommended it as a great fertilizer that should be used with water and applied sparingly.[152] Only one other mention was made of guano in the *Farmer* during Skinner's editorship—an extract from the *New England Farmer* quoting Humboldt's theories and opinions respecting its nature, origin, and value.[153] The time was not ripe for the use of guano in the United States, nor was Peru politically sound enough to further its exploitation. Skinner's work of enlightenment resulted in a small private demand but not until its acceptance in England in the late 1830s did the fertilizer reach Baltimore once again, in 1843.[154] For two decades and more guano became the "prominent subject of the day,"[155] and, as Daniel Lee, editor of the *Southern Cultivator,* stated, "after putting . . . some on his corn; 'The effect of guano is discernable half a mile.'"[156] In fact it met the eye throughout the nation.

[152] VI, 316-317.

[153] XI, 286.

[154] *American Farmer* (new series), I (1845-1846) relates pre-1843 use. Roy F. Nichols, "Latin American Guano Diplomacy," in A. C. Wilgus (ed.), *Modern Hispanic America* (Georgetown, 1933), 517 gives the year 1844 as the date of its re-introduction, as does Frank R. Rutter, *South American Trade of Baltimore,* Johns Hopkins University Studies, XV (Baltimore, 1897), 42.

[155] Avery O. Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860* (Urbana, 1926), 49.

[156] Quoted in Weymouth T. Jordan, "The Peruvian Guano Gospel in the Old South," *Agricultural History,* XIV (1950), 213. See also Rosser H. Taylor "Sale and Application of Commercial Fertilizers in the South Atlantic States to 1900," *ibid.,* XXI (1947), 46-52.

In 1850 Skinner had occasion to reflect on his work in introducing guano. In his *Plough, Loom, and Anvil,* he inserted a resolution passed by the Maryland Agricultural Society urging executive action to break the English monopoly in the guano trade. " What a change . . ," the reproachful Skinner wrote, " has come o'er the spirit of their dreams, among the Maryland farmers since 1824! " He then reminded his readers that he had distributed two barrels of guano in that year and reprinted descriptions of the bird manure published in the *Farmer* described above, inveighing " We give it as a piece of agricultural history which may possess some interest for the young reader of the present day." [157]

Inter-American commerce, its advantages and drawbacks, was discussed, but not stressed in the Skinner publication. The positive values resulting from the exportation of American manufactured and processed articles to the former Spanish and Portugese colonies is the theme of an article appearing in the first volume. Vessels departing from United States ports could sell their cargoes to advantage in the newly opened ports, then load with profitable products and minerals which would sell at a profit in the southern and northern home ports.[158] For Baltimore merchants, and many were farmer-merchants, this became an accepted practice in the 1820s. The rise of their city as a milling center, supported in the main by shipments to South American, Cuban, and Mexican ports lent strength to the trade advocacy of Skinner.[159] Nevertheless, he permitted those who feared the Latin agricultural economy to speak through his journal. Francis Valck's letter of 1822 was not withheld. The Philadephian reviewed the course of American commerce during the heyday of European wars, but lamented " the rivalship of those parts of South America . . . which are favourable to the growth of wheat, . . ." Once producing in full he felt the South American grain would sell cheaper in the world markets. Valck failed to foresee civil war and the consequent decline " of all energy " of those southern neighbors. His answer to the supposed threat was new home markets and manufacturing, which he felt would increase the demand for the products of the farm.

[157] *Plough, Loom, and Anvil,* II, 787-788.
[158] I, 230.
[159] Craven, *Soil Exhaustion,* 128; Rutter, *Trade,* 39 *ff.* Skinner, using Haiti as an example, demonstrated that in the year ending September, 1823, exports to that country exceeded in value and tonnage the combined domestic exports and tonnage to Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Malta, Trieste, and other Adriatic ports, Turkey, the Levant, Egypt, and China (IV, 136).

The false and pitiful policy, [he complained], by which our manufactories have been oppressed and partly ruined, comes now home; if they had been duly encouraged, the seven years which have elapsed since the return of peace, would have improved and matured them, and we should be enabled to cope with the manufacturers of the old world in the lucrative trade they are going to enjoy with the rich provinces of South America. How merrily, [Skinner's correspondent continued], might our raw materials, larded with beef, pork, bread, &c. find their way to South America, in the shape of North American manufactures, but as we have no such thing, nor anything else to offer to the nations of the south in exchange for their produce, we are condemned to be lookers on, whilst others taste the sweets of this Eldorado to their hearts delight! This is very mortifying, but true! [160]

Therein Valck proved prophetic. One hundred years later, American manufactured items began to move in quantity to South America, replacing British and European articles. The Jeffersonians, for all their sympathies with Latin America, misjudged the economic opportunities both at home and in the area Monroe sought to protect. Skinner, himself an advocate of manufacturing, probably reasoned that the subject of commerce bordered too closely on politics and dropped the discussion.

Politically speaking, Skinner indulged himself by squeezing in contemporary tidbits of the area he most frequently wrote about. A summer number of 1819 briefed the fall of Porto Bello in Panamá at the hands of his former acquaintance Gregor McGregor and told of the ignominious flight from the Isthmus of that ignoble Scotchman.[161] Steadfastly withholding any description of Bolívar's triumphs, he waited until 1824 even to make mention of the Republic of Colombia—that its agent had "been received in Paris in a manner highly flattering to the independent cause in South America." [162] Another three years passed and then a quotation from Miller's *Memoirs,* describing Bolívar, and mentioning that Bolívar invariably spoke of England, of her institutions, and of her great men in terms of admiration.[163] Skinner's northern South American contacts were principally with Venezuela, and in 1828 that region was in revolt against its most famous son. In February of that year, Skinner could not resist publishing a letter from David Porter, one of his closest friends and debtors,[164] then

[160] IV, 63-64.
[161] I, 79.
[162] VI, 278.
[163] X, 295-296.
[164] David Porter to S. Hambleton, May 4, 1818, D. D. Porter Papers.

engaged as first Admiral of the Mexican navy.[165] That same month he wrote of the disturbing civil war in the Buenos Aires region.[166] With a touch of antiquarian pride he let it be known that the Nunnery of Visitation in Georgetown had been presented by Commodore Rodgers with "The sword, sheath and belt of Iturbide . . ." and honored the Emperor with the title "hero of South America."[167] In 1829 he reported in some detail the Spanish effort to reconquer Mexico and the glorious rôle played by Santa Anna in preventing that undertaking.[168] The dawn of the year 1830 found him inserting invectives against the Liberator, Bolívar; joining Hezekiah Niles, his fellow townsman and editor, he sketched the downfall of the Republic of Colombia caused by the desire to coronate Bolívar. "'The public voice is raised against the act in Venezuela," he quoted. "'Death to the tyrant death to the crown—long live the constitution!' is the common cry through the streets." Páez, his readers learned, will not follow Bolívar into monarchy.[169] Nostalgia, perhaps, forbade him to mention Chile, for the country that he once so favored was torn with political dissension and downright banditry.

This telling of the Latin American interests of a single individual can be defended only if the accomplishments and ideas of that person and the region that stimulated him are worthy of investigation. Insofar as the promotion of agriculture is of value to mankind, John S. Skinner made his contribution in attempting to enrich the northern fields with Latin seeds. His devotion to the Spanish-American independence movement was heartfelt. Unfortunately, no one has seen fit to uncover the many facets that motivated him or to measure the effectiveness of his labors. If this offering tends to dispel in part the veil of mist that surrounds him, the effort will have proved constructive. Of his Latin-American concerns much remains shrouded in mystery, as privateering was not the type of undertaking that warranted private or public revelation. His zeal in advocating independence for those countries was in keeping with the wishes of many of his contemporaries, but he did more to publicize his views than others. His agricultural educational program regarding foreign flora and fauna initiated a practice that is standard today. By opening his

[165] X, 383-384.
[166] X, 383.
[167] XI, 101.
[168] XI, 152, 213, 216.
[169] XI, 336.

home to those from south of the border he proved to be more than a good neighbor—he was a good friend.

" An American calculating boy was asked, in a bantering way, ' If a pair of boots cost six dollars, what will a hat cost?' He answered readily, ' Different prices '; and immediately proposed a similar question. ' If a bushel of coal cost 6¼ cents, what will a cord of wood come to?' ' I don't know,' said the gentleman. ' It will come to ashes,' said the boy." [170] Well might this " Conundrum Extraordinary," as Skinner entitled it, be applied to Inter-American relations, for ashes will be the end-product of a highly desirable goal unless there are yet to appear more John Stuart Skinners.

[170] XI, 199.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Baltimore Afire. By HAROLD A. WILLIAMS. Baltimore: Schneidereith, 1954. 92 pp.

This handsome volume contains the most complete description ever written about the Great Baltimore Fire of February 7 and 8, 1904. Presented in concise, narrative style, the book provides a fascinating review of the ever-changing scene which followed the discovery of smoke seeping from the windows of the building occupied by John E. Hurst & Company, at Hopkins Place and Liberty on the south side of what is now Redwood Street.

Although Mr. Williams' thrilling story of the progress of the fire encompasses much more than what could be included in an eye-witness account, it still leaves the impression that it is being told by one who had first-hand knowledge of nearly everything which happened on that memorable occasion. The chronology of events is interspersed with many items of human interest. These sidelights not only hold the reader's attention but also help him to visualize the excitement that prevailed during the City's darkest hour. Mr. Schneidereith's reminiscences furnish another welcome chapter in the lengthening list of personal recollections concerning the fire.

The well-written text is supplemented by perhaps 50 or more photographs showing the tremendous devastation wrought by the fire. A picture with a detailed caption appears on virtually every other page. An excellent map indicates the extent of the burnt district as well as the place where the fire started and the shifting directions of the wind, which played such an important part in the spread of the fire and in the heroic efforts to control it.

The author is to be commended for his success in blending the widely scattered data into an accurate and dramatic summary of the most important single episode in the history of Baltimore. This book, together with the special January, 1954, issue of the Association of Commerce magazine *Baltimore*, fill a long-felt need for a convenient yet comprehensive treatment of the fire and its immediate and long-range effects on the development of the City. *Baltimore Afire* will occupy a prominent place among the standard references dealing with the community's social and economic history.

W. S. HAMILL

George Washington in American Literature, 1775-1865. By WILLIAM A. BRYAN. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1952. xii, 280 pp. $5.25.

This work is a competent survey of a subject highly important to American literature and civilization. As the author points out, the influence of Washington in American literature "is a field that an editor with a board of several readers might not cover for many years." Despite this abundance of material, the author does not confine himself to works of pure literature (poetry, drama, essays, fiction), but treats—and quite properly—anecdotes, reminiscences, and personal letters of contemporaries. These include French and English sources as well as American.

The chief deficiencies in content of this study are a result of the author's fallacious premise that "a representative portion of the writing about Washington eventually found its way into books." Because of this premise, the author depended upon secondary sources for newspaper material and limited himself by and large to the files of three 19th century magazines. The premise that most periodical literature of merit eventually finds its way into books may be applicable to the 19th century, but it is by no means true of the 18th. American literature of the 18th century was by and large newspaper literature, and some of its best productions have never appeared in book form. Even during the last decade important new articles by Franklin, Paine, and other literary figures have been discovered, and the search still goes on. Especially during the year of Washington's death, American newspapers and magazines were filled with various tributes. The sections of the present study devoted to the 19th century, therefore, are more complete and authoritative than those devoted to the 18th, the period of contemporary comment.

Of special interest to students of Maryland history are Washington's relations with Jonathan Boucher, famous Tory clergyman of Queen Anne's Parish. Bryan points out that after Washington's retirement, the ardent Royalist somewhat inconsistently dedicated to the revolutionary hero a collection of anti-revolutionary sermons preached between 1763 and 1775. Unfortunately Bryan completely neglects to analyse these sermons. Among them are two preached in 1774 based on the Biblical characters of Absalom and Achitophel. It seems highly probable that at the moment of composition Boucher intended them to represent Washington and Franklin respectively. In his appendix to these two sermons in the collected edition, Boucher rejects this allegorical interpretation, but his zeal to deny the obvious carries scant conviction. "That in delineating these characters," he declares, "I had no particular individuals in my eye, I will not be so disingenuous as to pretend; for, as all national character must ultimately resolve itself into particular characters, it appears scarcely possible to describe the one, without in some degree adverting to the other. But I do confidently assert, that neither Dr. Franklin alone, nor any one individual, sat for the picture. . . . Dr. Franklin was not then the only Achitophel who 'directed the storm,' nor General Washington the only Absalom. Besides, when these sermons were written, neither the Statesman nor the General were so well known as they now are."

These sermons contain much of interest to students of the American Revolution, and scant attention has been as yet given to Boucher by historians.

A. O. Aldridge

University of Maryland

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. (Vol. VIII, Feb.-Oct., 1785.) Edited by Julian P. Boyd. Princeton Univ. Press, 1953. xxx, 687 pp. $10.

The present volume opens a new interest for the readers of the Jefferson Papers, an interest best summed up as the "Americans in Europe" aspect. Jefferson was appointed to succeed Franklin as Minister to France and presented his credentials to the French Court in May, 1785. John Adams and his wife Abigail were also in Europe, and the exchange of letters between the Adamses and Jefferson is rich in the impressions and reactions of citizens of the new Republic sightseeing and meeting people in the Old World. Jefferson's letters to friends in America likewise contain much human interest material in connection with his impressions of Europe. He took as much interest as any American on tour in such things as the gardens of Leyden and a book printed by Laurens Koster advertised as the first book ever printed.

Jefferson's absence from the political scene in America also tended to make the letters of Americans at home fuller in the details of politics and economics. There are fine letters from Patrick Henry, George Washington, William Short, and Francis Hopkinson. The latter also devoted many letters to his improved harpsichord invention and other scientific matters. Being away meant leaving the tutelage of Jefferson's nephew, Peter Carr, in the hands of others. The education of his nephew and of other youths stimulated Jefferson to write some of his finest letters on education. A particularly good example may be found in Jefferson's letter to John Banister, Jr., (p. 635 *ff.*) where he expresses his views on the relative advantages of an American over a European education.

Aside from the day to day business, the two main problems which seemed to occupy the attention of the American commissioners in this period were the arranging of a treaty with the Barbary pirates and getting Houdon safely to America to execute a bust of Washington. The Barbary pirates situation raised many problems of international relations, and the refusal to pay tribute to the pirates takes its roots in this period, though based more on financial inability to pay the demands rather than from ethical outrage. The Houdon situation revolved around attempts to insure the sculptor's life on his trip to America. It was resolved successfully by the issuance of a policy ten days after Houdon had reached Mount Vernon.

Scattered through this volume is a wealth of information about the economics of the period. Maryland tobacco is mentioned frequently in this connection. In a letter to Richard Price (pp. 356-357) Jefferson clearly states his opinion on slavery. The Chesapeake he regards as the

dividing line of opposition to it, but he finds less interest in Maryland to abolish slavery than in Virginia. As in previous volumes, this one offers a close look into a cross-section of American life and thought.

FRANCIS C. HABER

Peabody Institute Library

The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution. By CHARLES WOODMAN. Edited by RICHARD J. HOOKER. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1953. xxxix, 305 pp. $5.

Woodman was an itinerant Anglican minister, who served a parish in the backcountry of South Carolina for a number of years during the Stamp Act and Regulator disturbances. This volume contains his journal, some of his sermons, and a variety of his other writings on the Regulator movement.

It would be hard to find, among published documents of this period of American history, any which give a fuller or more vivid account of the life and problems of the people on the frontier. Though the book jacket somewhat overstates the case in comparing Woodman with Jonathan Swift, he did possess a gift of invective, and, in his few mellower moments, of satire, which enlivens his comments upon his fellowmen and the country.

Woodman was a gentleman, a Christian, and a loyal subject of the King. All three attributes contributed to his loneliness and his distaste for his surroundings. He had to contend with a confusion of religions whose contempt and hatred for the established church drove him to the limits of endurance. The competition of the many sects was so violent that none was effective in maintaining Christian morality among the people. The planter aristocracy of the coast, whose plain duty it was to support the established church, were too concerned with keeping their own political control of the province to consent either to the organization of proper parishes in the backcountry or the provision of ministers for those parishes. Such parishes, by sending representatives to the legislature, might overwhelm by their numbers the planter oligarchy.

Thus it is not surprising that Woodman came to be a spokesman and advocate for the very class whose morals and manners he detested, when the Regulator movement presented its demands for political equality and justice for the frontier. Neglect of the frontier meant to Woodman neglect of God's work. And none knew better than he how far back toward savagery frontier conditions had carried the settlers. It was his purpose, in which he was thwarted by the opposition of the sectarians, the indifference and laxity of those charged with supporting his work, and the vastness of the wilderness where he had to work, to reproduce in South Carolina the settled, orderly conditions of England. In this effort he traveled nearly three thousand miles a year, wearing out several horses and nearly wearing out himself, through endless hardships which he described in full detail in his Journal. The trials and vexations of his ministry never broke his spirit or his devotion to his task. Eventually, he

raised up too many enemies against him to be borne. When the discontent of the people led them from revolt against domestic oppression to revolt against the British Crown itself, Woodman could not go along with them. He left South Carolina for Maryland. Then he returned to England in 1774, where all record of his latter days is lost.

Though the intensity of Woodman's feelings invalidates much of his comment on the frontier society as sober evidence, it is clear that he was a worthy, consecrated man overwhelmed by a task beyond his (or any other man's) talents. We can only be grateful to him and to those who preserved, efficiently edited, and published his writings, for one of the liveliest pictures of American life ever written.

JOHN PHILIP HALL

Goucher College

A History of the Southern Confederacy. By CLEMENT EATON. New York: Macmillan, 1954. ix, 351 pp. $5.50.

To the ever-increasing literature of American sectional history, Clement Eaton has added a volume with many rewards for its reader. He brings to his narrative an intimate acquaintance with the Southern mind and folkways. This is the region where he has lived, studied, and taught for the major part of his life. His earlier volume, *A History of the Old South* (1949), was hailed as a happy combination of thoroughness, objectivity, and sympathetic understanding. Professor Eaton picks up the strands of that earlier narrative which terminated with the secession of the cotton states and leads us into the tragic years of the Confederacy. The South was riding the crest of a tidal wave of emotionalism and sectional pride. The fire-eaters were in the ascendancy; the South was to be kept a "white man's country."

The author's objective is "to tell the truth and to be fair to both sides in the struggle between the Blue and the Gray." He attempts to achieve a balance between the social, political, and military history of the Southern Confederacy. Johnny Reb and the folks back home are made to stand out in bold relief from the picture of campaigns, military strategy, and Southern politics. He is not over-pretentious with regard to originality and reinterpretation. He is no apologist, debunker, sensationalist, or glorifier. He walks the tight-rope of objectivity that may be swayed at times, he confesses, by the ordinary man's sympathy for the underdog in a fight and by his Southern birth. Much of this story has been told before, but we are indebted to Professor Eaton for a book that will meet with the approval of both the general reader and the scholar trained in historical method. The latter may regret the author's (or publisher's) failure to include an extensive bibliography. The thirty-three pages of documentation, however, appear to cover the subject thoroughly. This is a balanced account that reflects the skill and good judgment of the author.

LOUIS M. VANARIA

Teachers College,
Columbia University

Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson. By JONATHAN TRUMAN DORRIS. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1953. 459 pp. $7.50.

Collapse of the Confederacy and the death of Lincoln seemed to clear the way for President Johnson and the radicals in Congress to make traitors pay. A generous number of hangings might prove for all time that the way of the transgressor is hard, especially when tainted with rebellion. There was nothing in the execution of Mrs. Mary Surratt or the conduct of Joseph Holt and Thaddeus Stevens to encourage hope in the people of the South and some sought safety in flight beyond our borders. However, except for individuals convicted of particular crimes during the war, not one in the months ahead was executed and indeed very few were long confined in jail for treason. Except for an initial outburst President Johnson turned steadfastly towards mercy and was soon so rapidly issuing proclamations of amnesty and yielding to the importunities of those seeking pardons as to arouse the bitter emnity of Congress. With more difficulty Congress in time made the change and began to lift the burdens of disqualification it had placed in a more angry mood. Finally, in the early part of the war with Spain, Congress removed all disabilities and added a statement of regret that any had formerly thought such measures necessary. Further, it adopted a statement concerning the nature of the struggle that recognized the integrity of the Southern leaders of 1860.

This change is the story Professor Dorris has undertaken in *Pardon and Amnesty*. He has analyzed the political legacy of the war, treated constitutional problems, portrayed the bitter jealousy of Congress, and recorded the reduction of emotional temperatures under the benign influence of time. Drawing heavily on the Amnesty Papers in the National Archives, Mr. Dorris has presented a thoroughly interesting volume in an interesting field. Perhaps *Pardon and Amnesty* should be read as an antidote by any driven to despondency by the hatred and ugliness recorded by Bowers in his *Tragic Era.*

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

Western Maryland College

Robert M. LaFollette. By BELLE CASE LAFOLLETTE and FOLA LAFOLLETTE. New York: Macmillan, 1953. 2 vols. $15.

When Senator Robert M. LaFollette died in the summer of 1925 he had served the State of Wisconsin in the U. S. Senate for twenty consecutive years. The LaFollette name and record so dominated the politics of Wisconsin that few people could even remember the name of Wisconsin's other Senator. In a day when being "controversial" is considered equivalent to "dangerous" or "subversive," it is refreshing to read of a great American who gloried in being controversial. From the day in 1880 when young Bob LaFollette defied the local boss to run for District

Attorney for Dane County to the day of his death "Fighting Bob" was in the midst of one controversy after another. In Wisconsin it was a long and bitter fight to oust the corrupt combination of railroad and manufacturing lobbies which controlled the state. In Washington LaFollette became the leader of progressive Republicans who sought to convert the Republican Old Guard to a wide variety of democratic reforms. Foiled by Theodore Roosevelt in his first bid for a Republican presidential nomination in 1912 La Follette went on to give Woodrow Wilson's domestic reform program very considerable support. Haunted by the fear that all the democratic reforms for which he had fought and those which America had achieved during the previous twenty years would go down the drain if the United States were drawn into World War I led LaFollette to oppose our entry into the war. For this honest conviction LaFollette received castigation and abuse such as few Americans have ever experienced and he was very nearly expelled from the Senate. President Wilson who personally shared LaFollette's deepest misgivings differed with the Senator on the wisdom of neutrality and led the nation to war. As Wilson rose to the heights of a great war leader LaFollette dropped to the depths of one accused of treason. When the war was over America's disillusionment crushed the dreams of Woodrow Wilson and revived Robert LaFollette's political fortunes. In 1924, without the backing of an organized party and lacking any real financial support the independent ticket of LaFollette and Wheeler rolled up the amazing total of five million votes against the combined opposition of the Democrats behind Davis and the Republicans behind Coolidge. No other independent or third party candidate has ever made so impressive a showing.

Upon LaFollette's death his widow and active political partner determined to write her husband's biography. She lived long enough to carry the story down to 1910. At that point Fola LaFollette, the eldest LaFollette daughter, began research in the hope of finishing her mother's project. Over twenty years went into the completion of this labor of love. The strength of the book is at the same time its greatest weakness. By design the authors determined to keep Senator LaFollette in perfect focus while letting all other figures fade out in the background. From the voluminous LaFollette Papers as well as the papers of contemporaries such as Roosevelt, Wilson, Bryan, Brandeis, Tumulty, and Walsh the story has been carefully reconstructed. Public documents, news media, and interviews with surviving contemporaries of her father have been utilized in the best historical fashion by Miss LaFollette. But by keeping the focus so rigidly upon LaFollette something less than justice is sometimes done to the opinions or motives of others. Our knowledge of an important period in our history has been notably enriched.

David S. Sparks

University of Maryland

Writings on American History, 1949. Compiled by JAMES R. MASTERSON and ANNE MARIE KANE, Washington: 1954. $2.75.

The second volume under present auspices is as welcome as the first (reviewed *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIII [1953], 255). It is designed to cite every book and article published in 1949 that has any considerable value for study and research. Most useful to Marylanders will be pp. 252-258. We are assured in the Foreword that the work of preparing the next volume in this valuable series is well advanced.

The Story of American Historical Flasks. By HELEN MCKEARIN. Corning, N. Y.: 1953. 70 pp. $1.

An exhibition of American historical flasks presented as part of a continuing program relating to the history of glass by the Corning Museum of Glass provides the material for this catalogue. Included with description and some drawings of the flasks on exhibit are a brief history of bottle making and sketches of events most used as American flask designs. Of especial interest to Maryland readers will be the several specimens from the Baltimore Glass Works, many of which show what collectors long called the "Baltimore Monument," but which proved to be on some, the Washington Monument; on others the Battle Monument. The catalogue, even without the privilege of seeing the exhibition, makes interesting reading.

Green Rose of Furley. By HELEN CORSE BARNEY. New York: Crown Publishers, 1953. 247 pp. $3.

Although she is almost too good and beautiful to be credible, Susan Coale, the heroine of *Green Rose of Furley* is a refreshing change from the unsympathetic vixens who populate so many historical novels. Her story is that of a Quaker family in Maryland during the Civil War, a peaceful people living in unpeaceful times. A minimum of violence combines with a fast moving story. There are pleasant descriptions of the Maryland country sides and an interesting insight into Quaker faith and customs. An integral part of the story is the working of the Underground Railroad and it is gratifying that all the loose ends—even to the fate of the last of the ex-slaves—are neatly put in place. One sometimes has the feeling that historic characters are dragged in by the ears—as when Susan manages to be in Frederick in time for the alleged Barbara Fritchie incident, and the long arm of coincidence is noticeable, but on the whole *Green Rose of Furley* is a pleasant, readable, and perhaps even educational story.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE PRESIDENT VISITS MARYLAND, 1817

James Monroe's three and a half months' tour in the summer of 1817 had a special significance.[1] The nation had recently concluded a war with Great Britain. A year earlier it had elected a Virginian president in preference to the Federalist candidate, Rufus King, of New York. The announced purpose of the President's tour was to inspect military fortifications, frontier outposts, navy yards, and manufacturing establishments. The tour served the additional purpose of allaying fears or qualms of many in disaffected areas like New England. Indeed, the trip quickly became a triumphal progress. Monroe left Washington May 31 and returned September 17. He travelled up the coast to the District of Maine, west to Buffalo and Detroit, and then back by way of central Ohio, Pittsburgh, Hagerstown, and Frederick.

Two small volumes in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society give the full story of the tour as seen by contemporaries.[2] We print on the following pages several extracts from each book that describe the President's visit in Baltimore at the beginning of the trip and in Western Maryland on his return.

In a sense this is a supplement to Raphael Semmes' engaging book *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors* (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1953).

Except as indicated the description which follows is taken from the Philadelphia edition cited previously:

Availing himself of a season of comparative leisure, the President left Washington City, on Saturday the 31st of May, with an intention of prosecuting the object of his tour, through the northern and eastern departments of the Union. His departure from the capital, was made in so unostentatious and private a manner, that most of the citizens were ignorant of that circumstances, until it was announced to them, by the

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[1] See D. C. Gilman, *James Monroe* (Boston, 1883), pp. 136-140; Arthur Styron, *The Last of the Cocked Hats* (Norman, 1945), pp. 348-349; W. Cresson, *James Monroe* (Chapell Hill, 1946), pp. 285-290; anl George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* (New York, 1953), pp. 95-96.

[2] *A Narrative of A Tour of Observation* . . . (Philadelphia, 1818), pp. 14-21, 223-225, and *The Tour of James Monroe* . . . (Hartford, 1818), pp. 50-57, 261-264. Other useful accounts are in *Niles Register* and the Baltimore newspapers (*American, Federal Gazette, Federal Republican,* and *Patriot*) for appropriate dates.

daily Intelligencer,[3] when he was already many miles on his journey. The necessity of his return to the seat of government, previously to the ensuing fall, made it incumbent on him to travel with as much celerity as the avowed purposes of his journey would permit; and, to do this, he was desirous to pass through the intermediate towns, with as much privacy as possible. The disposition of the citizens, however, did not, in this particular, coincide with his own, and his approach to Baltimore, being already anticipated by the citizens of that place, they determined that he should be publicly received, and conducted, by a military escort, to his quarters. A corresponding desire to receive the President in a manner suitable to his elevated rank, and with a respect due to his eminent public services, soon evinced itself in all the principal cities, through which he would be obliged to pass, and preparations were every where making, to pay him the highest possible honours.

Consistently with his own desire to avoid all kind of parade, he selected a moment for his entrance into the city of Baltimore, when its inhabitants would, in all probability, be engaged in their devotional exercises, and when he might repair to the apartments which had been provided for him, without being himself molested, and without attracting the attention of any part of the community. It was no sooner known, to a few individuals, that such were the President's contemplations, than intelligence was spread about the town, and a large cavalcade of citizens on horseback, and a troop of the city cavalry, immediately proceeded to the Washington road, where they met the President, and, after an interchange of civilites, attended him to the Fountain Inn. Here he was welcomed by a number of the most respectable and distinguished citizens, and in the afternoon attended the church of the reverend Dr. Inglis.[4]

Early on the following morning, accompanied by generals [Samuel] Smith, [William H.] Winder, [John] Stricker, and [J. C.] Swift [Chief Engineer, U. S. Army], and a number of military officers, he visited the breastworks which had been thrown up for the defence of Baltimore, during the war, and thence repaired to the battle ground, at North Point. A personal view of this scene, must have been peculiarly interesting to the President, as well as to the gentlemen present, two of whom, generals Smith and Winder, had been attached to the troops within the line of fortification; and another, general Stricker, had the good fortune to command, in person, that division of the army, which on this spot, on the 12th of September 1814, sustained the conflict with the British regulars under colonel [Arthur] Brooke, the successor in command to major-general [Robert] Ross, who fell soon after landing his forces, in a skirmish brought on by the American light party, under majoor [Richard K.] Heath.

In this contest, the American militia, with the exception of the 51st regiment, and a few companies of the left battalion of the 39th, behaved with uncommon coolness and intrepidity, and general Stricker must have

[3] The Washington *Daily National Intelligencer,* June 2, 1817, p. 2, col. 5.
[4] Rev. Dr. James Inglis (d. 1819), pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.

enjoyed much gratification, in the opportunity of verbally detailing, to the President of the United States, upon the same ground, the events of a battle, which, setting aside the flight of the left flank, if it had a single fault, it was the fault of having been fought too long, and which relieved one of the most distinguished and patriotic cities in the union, from the desolating consequences of a visit from an enemy; established the character of the American arms; and saved millions of property from capture and destruction.[5]

Having returned from this early excursion to his quarters in the city, the President was waited on by the mayor and corporation of Baltimore, by whom he was addressed in the following words:

" Baltimore, June 2, 1817.

" *To the President of the United States.*

" Sir—We, the mayor and city council of Baltimore, embrace with great pleasure, this opportunity of personally congratulating the chief magistrate of the union on his arrival at this place.

" Your determination, in the commencement of your administration, to visit several of the most important places in the union, is auspicious of happy consequences; not satisfied with previous knowledge, or second hand information, you are anxious that, on your part, nothing shall be wanting to promote the commonwealth.

" That a city, which bore so conspicuous a part in the national defence, should first be honoured with the presence of the chief magistrate of the union, is as flattering as it is national [*sic*]: and we sincerly hope that your observation of our position, and means of defence, may enable us before another war to bid defiance to any enemy.

" When, sir, we review your long-tried, faithful, and able services; when we consider the increasing harmony and concord of the United States; when almost universal peace reigns among the nations; we augur great and lasting happiness to the United States, in giving full scope to the development of her faculties in the arts and sciences, in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and in the permanent exhibition of the advantages of a form of civil and political government, superior to any that has hitherto existed.

" To our fellow citizens, it is a most interesting spectacle, to see the chief magistrate of this great and powerful nation, making an official tour through their country in the style of a private citizen, guarded only by the respect paid to the high station he occupies, and the affections of a virtuous people.

" We, sir, wish you, in the sincerity of our hearts, a pleasant tour through the states; a happy return to Washington; a reputation and satisfaction in your presidency, equal to any of your predecessors; and finally, the reward of a well spent life in an eternal world.

[5] For details, see Neil H. Swanson, *The Perilous Fight* (New York, 1945), and Francis F. Beirne, *The War of 1812* (New York, 1949), pp. 304-321.

" We are, sir, with sentiments of very great respect, your obedient servants,

" George Stiles,

" Mayor of the City of Baltimore.."

To which address this answer was made by the President:

" *To the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore:*

" Fellow citizens—The sentiments which your have communicated, have afforded me very great satisfaction. They are just, as to the objects adverted to, and to me, they are generous and kind.

" It was impossible for me to approach Baltimore, without recollecting, with deep interest, the gallant conduct of her citizens, in the late war, and the happy results attending their exertions. The glorious victory which was achieved by her, and in which her citizens bore so distinguished a part, at a very important epoch, not only protected this patriotic city, but shed great lustre on the American name.

" Experience has shown us our dangers, and admonished us as to the means of averting them. Congress has appropriated large sums of money, for the fortification of our coast, and inland frontier, and for the establishment of naval dock yards, and for building a navy. It is proper that those works should be executed with judgment, fidelity, and economy; much depends in the execution, on the executive; to whom extensive power is given, as to the general arrangement, and to whom the superintendance exclusively belongs. You do me justice in believing, that it is to enable me to discharge these duties with the best advantage to my country, that I have undertaken this tour.

" From the increased harmony of public opinion, founded on the successful career of a government, which has never been equalled, and which promises, by a further development of its faculties, to augment in an eminent degree, the blessings of this favoured people, I unite with you in all the anticipations which you have so justly suggested.

" In performing services, honestly and zealously intended for the benefit of my fellow citizens, I shall never entertain a doubt of their generous and firm support. Incapable of any feelings distinct from those of a citizen, I can assume no style, in regard to them, different from that character; and it is a source of peculiar delight to me, to know, that while the chief magistrate of the United States, acts fully up to this principle, he will require no other guard than what may be derived from their confidence and affection.

" James Monroe.

" Baltimore, June 2d, 1817."

After this ceremony, in his own name, and in the name of the corporation, the mayor cordially invited the President to a public dinner, the acceptance of which, in consequence of his previous arrangements, and from motives of public concern, he felt himself obliged to forego.

At eleven o'clock of the same day, and attended by the same officers

who had conducted him to the Point, he proceeded to the examination of the armament and garrison of Fort M'Henry, which had gallantly withstood the bombardment of the enemy, upwards of twenty-four hours. The batteries on that occasion, to be sure, had been opened, but the shot falling very far short of the assailants, the firing, from the fort, ceased, or was maintained, only at intervals, to show that the garrison had not sunk under the tremendous showers of rockets and shells, incessantly thrown into the batteries; and thus painfully situated, without the power of retaliating the attack, the brave and determined soldiers endured their mortification, with an unyielding spirit, during the whole bombardment, which continued until seven o'clock of the morning of the fourteenth. One of the late papers of that city observes: "Had colonel [George] Armistead, who was then, and is now the commanding officer of the fort, been told in the year 1814, that in the year 1817, he would have witnessed on that very spot, then shaken by the exploding thunders of the enemy's fleet, the presence of the chief magistrate, congratulating him on the issue of that event, how exhilarating would then have been his sensations." [6]

On entering the fort the President was received with a federal salute, and after finishing his examination of its condition, he was escorted to Whetstone Point, where the third brigade of Maryland militia, under general [Joseph] Sterrett, formerly of the 5th regiment, had assembled for the purpose of being reviewed. The field was covered with people of every rank, among whom the appearance of the chief of the republic, produced general and lively satisfaction.

In the course of the afternoon the President visited the Washington Monument, at Howard Park, and the City Monument, at Washington Square, and at five o'clock he received at his quarters, the personal salutations of the officers of general Sterrett's brigade.

The President, after experiencing these warm and patriotic attentions, departed from Baltimore at seven o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, the 4th of June, in one of the steam boats which had been chartered, by the corporation, for his exclusive use and accommodation, and to which he was accompanied by the municipal authorities of the city.

In the evening of that day he arrived at Newcastle, on the Delaware, . . .

Describes Baltimore

The city of Baltimore, the capital [*sic*] of the state of Maryland, is situated upon the Patapsco river, about fourteen miles from its junction with the Chesapeake Bay.[7] It has long been ranked as the fourth commercial city in the union. It is built upon a bason, which forms a safe and commodious harbour. It is divided by a creek called Jones' Falls, into two parts, over which a number of bridges are erected to facilitate communication between the two sections of the city. The public buildings in this place, whether erected as houses of legislative or judicial sessions; public worship; the education of youth, or banking, commercial, and manufactur-

[6] The quotation appeared in the *Federal Republican,* June 3, 1817, p. 2, col. 2.

[7] This and succeeding paragraphs (except the final three) are from the Hartford edition.

ing concerns, certainly evince the taste and the wealth of the place. Its population in 1810, was 47000. It is well defended by fort M'Henry. The storm and the flood of 1817, left a gloomy track of desolation through this flourishing and growing city; but the known enterprize of its citizens will shortly restore the place from the effects of a calamity which no sagacity could foresee; which no prudence could prevent.

The defence of this place, on September 14, 1814, shews that retribution sometimes treads close upon the heels of transgression. Gen. Ross, a British commander, a few weeks before this place was attacked, burnt the Capitol, the President's house and the national library at Washington. Near Baltimore he was slain by the hand of an American. We cannot scan the mysterious decrees of Providence; "his ways are past finding out"; but while the noble sentiment inherent with American bosoms, induces them to honour the memory of a valiant and generous foe like Brock, they silently acquiesce in the justice of heaven in removing a Vandal enemy like Ross.

The President took his departure from Baltimore upon the 3d, amidst the prayers of the good for the benedictions of heaven upon his life, and the blessings of all upon him, for his dignified affability and the deep interest he manifested for the welfare and happiness of the place. He entered the steam boat Philadelphia, being conducted to it by the mayor and city council, and was accompanied to Frenchtown by a number of the citizens. . . .

Return Trip Through Western Maryland.

He left this place [Pittsburgh] upon the 10th September, and prosecuted the remaining part of his Tour with great rapidity to Washington. It is impossible to notice the numerous demonstrations of respectful and sincere attachment every where shown the President in the long range of fertile and flourishing country, from the head of the Ohio, to the city of Washington. His passage through this part of the country was so expeditious, that the people could have but little notice of his approach; and could not display that arrangement in welcoming their beloved Chief, which many large towns, which he approached more slowly and visited more leisurely, had an opportunity to make. Indeed the President, having for more than three months, been surrounded by multitudes of citizens; escorted by numerous bodies of soldiers, and formally addressed by numerous corporations, must have found it a relief to pass through a country where the people could not bestow upon him any, but the sudden and spontaneous effusions of admiration.

The citizens of *Hagerstown,* however, having ascertained the time when he would reach that place, addressed him as follows:

"Suitable arrangements having been made to receive him by a committee appointed for that purpose; the following address, on behalf of the citizens, was delivered by Colonel Otho Williams: [8]

[8] The son of Col. Elie Williams and the nephew of Gen. Otho Holland Williams.

"To JAMES MONROE,

"President of the United States.

"The citizens of Hagerstown, by their committee, appointed for that purpose, beg leave to welcome you to this place, and to offer you their cordial and respectful salutations. They sincerely unite with their countrymen, in the expressions of esteem and confidence to which your character and exalted station entitle you. The visit with which you are pleased to honour them, is highly gratifying, and they are happy that the Tour of your Excellency, undertaken for the promotion of objects of great national importance, affords them an opportunity of bidding their Chief Magistrate a cordial welcome.

"Whilst the arduous journey you have encountered, affords to many of your fellow citizens the opportunity of seeing you, they rejoice, at the same time in the belief that the information, relative to the great and various interests of the United States, which you have derived from actual observation, will facilitate your arrangements for their future defence and security.

"They unite their best wishes for your health and happiness, and pray that the blesings of Heaven may attend you through life, and that you may have the pleasure of seeing our beloved country prosperous and happy under your auspices, and that the course and close of your administration may entitle you to the gratitude and affection of the people of the United States, and the respect of posterity."

The President left this place upon the 16th, and, upon the same day, reached *Fredericktown,* the seat of justice for Frederick county, Maryland. He here reached a town, situated upon one of the tributary streams of the *Potomack,* upon the banks of which he was born. The citizens of this place welcomed the man "*the people delight to honour.*" They addressed him in the following terms:

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES MONROE,

"President of the United States.

"The mayor, aldermen, and common council of Frederick, just apprised of your arrival among them, hasten to offer you their warmest congratulations, on your safe return, thus far, from a Tour, performed from the highly laudable and patriotic motive of promoting your country's weal. They are also particularly gratified, that you have favored them with a visit, as flattering as it was unexpected; and beg leave to offer you their best wishes for your private happiness, and prosperous discharge of your official duties. They will also be pleased with an increased gratification, if your arrangements will permit you to dine with them, and the citizens of Frederick, to morrow, at three o'clock.

"LAWRENCE BRENGLE, Mayor."

To which the President made an appropriate verbal reply. He observed that he had undertaken the tour for the purpose of informing himself as to the actual state of fortifications, &c. that he was now on his return from accomplishing that object. Public business demanding his immediate attention at Washington, he was under the necessity of declining the polite invitation of the citizens of Fredericktown to a public dinner, however much his private feelings might urge him to the acceptance of that mark of respect. He felt gratified that his tour had been attributed to the proper motive, the disposition to promote the prosperity of his country.

Upon the morning of the 17th September, the President commenced the day's travel which was to complete his extensive, interesting, laborious, and highly important Tour. . . .

Visits Fountain Rock

On the 15th (September), when his excellency had travelled within a few hours journey of Hagerstown, in Maryland, colonel Williams despatched an express to the inhabitants, acquainting them with his approach.[9]

This information was disseminated amongst the citizens with rapidity, and a cavalcade, preceded by the committee of arrangement, was in a short time advancing on the road to meet him; the procession reached the suburbs, on its return with the President, under a federal discharge, and he passed on to his quarters amid repeated cheers from the people. After a stay of about two hours, during which he received the visits of many respectable citizens, he again ascended his carriage, and pursued the direction to Fountain Rock, the seat of general [Samuel] Ringold. He passed the night at the mansion of that gentleman.[10]

In the course of the following day he left Fountain Rock, and proceeding through Fredericktown, was there greeted with same unabated cordiality, and on the afternoon of the 17th of September, he entered the district of Columbia.

THE "KENT FORT MANOR" AND "ST. PETER'S KEY" MYTHS

By Henry Chandlee Forman *

In the light of further study and new material at hand, the time has come when certain misconceptions about two of the so-called oldest houses in Maryland should be corrected. Both these buildings were found by the writer on field trips in the year 1932. They are now known as "Kent Fort Manor," on Kent Island, and "St. Peter's Key," in St. Mary's City.

[9] The last three paragraphs are from the Philadelphia edition.

[10] See Edith R. Bevan, "Fountain Rock, The Ringgold Home in Washington County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1952), 19-28.

* Dr. Forman needs no introduction to Marylanders or students of Maryland architecture. We publish here his revised judgments on two Maryland houses which he discussed in his well-known books, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland,* and *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance.*—*Ed.*

If you travel south on Kent Island, you will come eventually to a sign on a gate painted in ornamental lettering announcing "Kent Fort Manor" and the owner's name.

The 1940 W. P. A.'s *Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State*—hereinafter referred to as the *Guide*—on page 419 gives directions to "Kent Fort Manor" and a short description, the gist of which relates that the house was built between 1638 and 1640, that it is of modest size, of brick and weatherboarding, that the hallway has vertical paneling, and that the stairway has less than five feet of headroom. The major part of this description was taken from the writer's *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*,[1] the first publication to take note of this little dwelling. This volume has photographs of the exterior, showing the plain appearance of the building, and of the interior, with the low-clearance stairway. There is a measured floor plan giving the exact size and arrangement of the structure. The text declares that date to be "probably 1638-40," which later became in the *Guide* "between 1638 and 1640." The Appendix in *Early Manors* purports to show why "Kent Fort Manor" is probably the oldest known house in Maryland. Fortunately this questionable and now outworn argument was placed in an appendix.

As is often the case, the *Guide* borrowed material which was wrong in the book from which it was taken: This dwelling has never been, is not now, and never will be, the original Kent Fort Manor. It is but an old house on the lands of Kent Fort Manor; it never should have a bronze plaque on account of its age.

Study of the mouldings and other details of this building since the publication of *Early Manors* proves its erection after 1800. It is true that the place possesses medieval characteristics, such as brick nogging, vertical paneling, and tiny doorway. Nonetheless such features in this abode are stylish hangovers into the 19th century. Further, the stair is an open well stairway, not a closed-box staircase which is usually found in small homes of the 17th century. The small bead moulding on the hall paneling, easily distinguished in the photograph in *Early Manors,* is a 19th-century feature. For characteristic mouldings in vertical board paneling of earliest Maryland, the reader is referred to the "great room" wainscoting of "Old Bloomfield" and "The Ending of Controversie" on the Eastern Shore.

Besides, the common bond of the exposed chimney face and the transom over the main west door are indications of late construction.

Consequently the existing cabin labelled "Kent Fort Manor" is no more Kent Fort Manor than any other structure on the southern end of Kent Island within the bounds of the manorial grant. The original manor house has been destroyed.

The other house is the so-called "St. Peter's Key," located within the original town limits of St. Mary's City. The W. P. A. *Guide* on page 481 informs the reader how to reach this dwelling, and assigns to it a paragraph, the essence of which describes that it was named for the key-shaped creek beside which it stands, that it has a freestanding double chimney

[1] (Easton, 1934), pp. 202, 245-246.

with pent and a cellar which were erected "about 1650." The *Guide* goes on to relate that the property was patented in 1640 to John Harris and Thomas Allen, and then notes how it came into possession of one Roger Oliver, who was slain in 1643 by an Indian aboard a vessel. Oliver's widow, Blanche Harrison Oliver, who inherited the property, did wilful perjury, and as a result, had both her ears amputated. The *Guide* continues that the Oliver family's "ignominy" persisted in a law decree that the mark of their cattle should be a left ear cropped and, in the right ear, two slits.

Now all this material was taken in its entirety, but somewhat garbled and without any acknowledgement or reference, even in the bibliographical list, from the writer's copyrighted *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), which on pages 302 to 304, gives a full description of this house, in part as follows:

". . . standing intact in the city is St. Peter's Key . . . named after the St. Peter's Key Creek on whose green banks it lies. . . . Its chimney-pent closet between freestanding chimneys, its steep roof and grey gables . . . preserve the spirit of old St. Mary's more than anything else in the whole countryside. . . . On the 6th of June, 1640, Governor Leonard Calvert requested his surveyor to lay out fifty acres of land . . . for John Harris and Thomas Allen. . . ."

Next in *Jamestown and St. Mary's* is described the bloody fight which Roger Oliver, owner of St. Peter's Key, in 1643 had with an Indian in the hold of a ship. The story is based on an account in the *Archives of Maryland*: [2]

"Thus, on a day in 1643, Roger Oliver, mariner, left St. Peter's Key to his widow and two children. Five years later an added misfortune struck this family. The widow, Blanch Harrison Oliver, wedded to Humphrey Howell, was condemned, according to English law, to stand in the pillory and lose both her ears, because of wilful perury. According to the records, the sentence was executed at once. The two Oliver children were assigned their mother's two cows and heifer, and also a cow due her from the Lord Proprietary. . . . Ironically, the mark for their cattle was decreed by law to be: left ear cropt and two slits in the right ear on the underside."

Parenthetically it may be observed that the cropping and slitting of cattle ears was the widespread custom in those days, and that the "ignominy" cited in the *Guide* is a figment of the imagination.

There then follows an architectural description of this house noting that the earliest portion was built "probably about 1645 or 1650," dates which in the *Guide* become for the whole dwelling (p. 123) "1650," and again (p. 481) "about 1650." The phrase, "in the city," becomes (p. 123) "near St. Mary's City."

Further research since *Jamestown and St. Mary's* appeared in 1938 has disclosed that the St. Peter's Key land in this city which James Walter Thomas marked on a map of the town in his *Chronicles of Colonial*

[2] IV, 445.

Maryland (1913) was not the property of the name, which in fact was located a goodly distance away. The exact site of the original St. Peter's Key tract will be shown in a forthcoming study of the first capital of Maryland.

The *Guide* borrowed material which was wrong in the source from which it was taken: the aforementioned structure has never been, is not now, and never will be the original St. Peter's Key. The tale of Oliver's fight with the Indian is true enough—if the *Archives* are true,—but that event had to do with the owner of a house in St. Mary's City long ago destroyed.

The local name of the existing dwelling labelled "St. Peter's Key" is the Leigh House, named for members of the Leigh family who owned large tracts of land in St. Mary's City in the 18th century. Until further research discloses its original name, the "Leigh House" will have to serve. The land on which it stands comprises "St. Mary's Hill Freehold," which was first granted in 1639 to Ferdinand Poulton, and which later came into the possession of Major Nicholas Sewall, step-son of Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore.

In conclusion this writer wishes to protest the unfortunate fate of the Leigh House. But first, let us go back to 1937 when *Jamestown and St. Mary's* was being written. While the ink of the mansuscript was drying, the first of the three existing original buildings of the early colonists in St. Mary's City was torn down for firewood. This was a little structure, medieval in appearance, the St. Barbara's barn, which had been owned by Mistress Mary Troughton, friend of Lord Baltimore, and which had later come into the possession of the Bromes.

Recently the second existing original building has had its face lifted. This is the Leigh House, which has been amputated by alterations inside and out, changing the place almost beyond recognition. Gone are the picturesque massive chimneys with little chimney-pent, the hand-carved stairway, and the kitchen-quarters building. Those who deplore these two pieces of destruction may find solace in knowing that the third original building in St. Mary's still stands well cared for and preserved: "Clocker's Fancy."

Nevertheless, the Leigh House *was* the quaintest surviving early building in the first capital of Maryland, birthplace of religious freedom in this country. It would have been far easier and less costly to preserve the Leigh House than to rebuild and reconstruct it. Twenty years ago this writer called attention publicly to the "Fire, vandalism, panel-stripping, decay, neglect, and so-called improvements" which were sweeping the State of Maryland. In spite of widely-read warnings such as that, there are still those who "talk" about the restoration of St. Mary's City at the very moment, in this second half of the 20th century, when the last vestiges of the town are disappearing.[3]

---

[3] For illustrations, see *Early Manors*, p. 202 (Kent Fort Manor), and *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, pp. 303 and 315 (Leigh House). Two photographs of the Leigh House, taken by the author, are in the Library of the Society.—*Ed.*

Parker Prize Contest Winners—The prize-winning entries in the 1953 Sumner and Dudrea Parker Contest for the best Maryland genealogies were the following:

First Prize, $25.00: "Genealogy of the Darby Family," by Rufus M. Darby

Second Prize, $20.00: "The Heath Family of Wicomico County," by Miss M. Catherine Downing

Third Prize, $15.00: "A Brief History of the Headington Family," by C. E. Headington

Judges in the 1953 contest were Mr. G. Valentine Massey, Dr. James G. Marston, and Mr. Peter G. Van der Poel.

Members and other interested persons are reminded that the 1954 contest closes on December 31, 1954. Entries should be submitted to the Director of the Society on or before that date.

The Society takes this opportunity to express appreciation to Mrs. Parker for establishing the endowment from the income of which these awards are made. The library is being enriched by the addition of these valuable compilations.

Clinton—Can someone tell us why the name Robeystown was once used for the Clinton community in Prince George's Co.? In the mid-19th century the community was called Surrattsville.

Frank Small, Jr., M. C.
House Office Bldg., Washington 25, D. C.

Gartrell—Need name of first wife and possibility of his ancestors' Colonial Wars services of Joseph Gartrell, Sr., Revolutionary soldier in Md. militia. Resided in Md. until 1801 when he moved to Wilkes Co., Ga.

Joseph Baird Magnus
16 Desbrosses St., New York 13, N. Y.

Poling—Want dates and proof of forbears of Richard Poling, Jacob Jackson, and Joshua Frazee. Poling m. Sophia Denith (Dewith or Dewitt), lived in Md., Va., and Perry Co., Ohio, children: Sarah, Mart, Wm., Anna, Richard, Elizabeth, Rachel. Elizabeth Poling m. Nov., 1804, Jacob Jackson in Md., moved to Ohio in 1805 and in 1841 to Van Buren Co., Iowa. Their dau. Mary m. 3-9-1837 in Perry Co., Ohio, Wm. Reed Frazee, son of Joshua and Nancy Reed Frazee.

Mrs. John W. Davis
933 Bullock Ave., Yeadon, Pa.

Talbott—Would like to exchange data on the following families of the Richard and Elizabeth Ewen Talbott lines: Talbott, Farquhar, Morsell, Sedgewich, Birkhead, Mears.

MALCOLM H. DILL
633 Charles Street Avenue, Towson 4.

Key—Would appreciate any information as to descendants of the following: Ridout Key McGregor and Anna Key McGregor, children of Martha Key, dau. of Judge Edmund Key and 1st wife, Anna Ruth Potts. Of Martha Key it is only known that she m. a Mr. McGregor. Also Edward Lloyd Key b. 10-12-1853, d. 11-3-1905; Mary Taylor Lloyd Key b. 3-12-1855, who m. Alexander McDonald Blair; Francis Scott Key b. 1-19-1861, last known address, Mt. Vernon, N. Y., in early 1900s. All these Keys were children of Charles Henry Key b. 7-30-1827 d. 6-29-1869, youngest son of Francis Scott Key, author of National Anthem.

DONALD KEY KING
3431 Binkley Ave., Dallas, Texas.

Wathen-Slye-Cole—Would appreciate information from private or professional sources regarding English origin, background, or antecedents of following settlers: John Wathen (1625-1698), settled in St. Mary's Co. 1646, m. 1650 Mary Mullett. Capt. Robert Slye (1615-1670), settled in St. Mary's Co., m. Susannah Gerard, dau. of Thomas Gerard. Robert Cole (d. 1663), settled in St. Mary's Co., whose son Edward m. daughter of Robert Slye.

EDGAR PETERSON
485 Madison Ave., New York 22.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. G. THOMAS DUNLOP, now retired from the practice of law in Washington, continues a family tradition of loving, intelligent care of the old home. His son, Mr. A. MCCOOK DUNLOP, has interested himself especially at this time in Williamson, the builder of Hayes. Mr. LEISENRING has previously contributed to the *Magazine* as author of a definitive article on Tulip Hill, Anne Arundel County (Sept., 1952). ☆ Dr. KENNY, the author of *West Virginia Place Names*, is at work on a study of Indian place names in Maryland. ☆ Mrs. PEABODY and Mr. BIERCK are identified in our March number.

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

The Chase House, Annapolis

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BALTIMORE

September · 1954

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XLIX, No. 3 SEPTEMBER, 1954

CONTENTS

PAGE

The Chase House in Annapolis *Rosamond Randall Beirne* 177

A Virginian and His Baltimore Diary *Douglas Gordon* 196

The Tribulations of a Museum Director in the 1820's *Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr.* 214

Revolutionary Mail Bag: III Edited by *Helen Lee Peabody* 223

Reviews of Recent Books 238

Notes and Queries 251

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes,* a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, the *Archives of Maryland* and the record of Maryland in World War II under the authority of the State and other serial and special publications.

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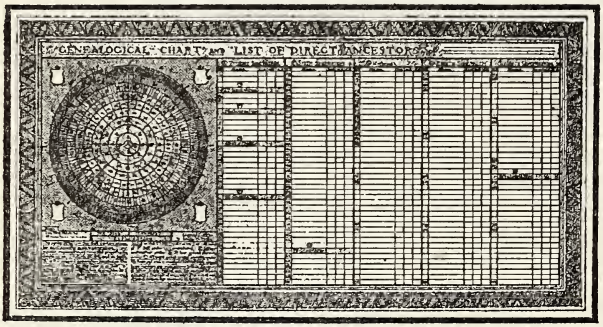

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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THE CHASE HOUSE IN ANNAPOLIS

By Rosamond Randall Beirne

PROBABLY no other house in Maryland, and few in America, has had as much admiration or as much public notice as the Chase house in Annapolis.[1] The admiration has resulted in many excellent descriptions by architects and historians, but until the rich store of Lloyd papers was deposited at the Maryland Historical Society a few years ago not one of the writers was cognizant of exact dates, builders, and personalities. Two eminent scholars had opportunity in recent years to clear up a few details of the construction of the house by previews of one or two items in the collection.[2] This paper can claim only the distinction of fitting together many pieces in a jig-saw puzzle. Because of confusion

[1] Most source material used in this article is from the Lloyd Family Papers recently placed on loan at the Maryland Historical Society by Mrs. Morgan B. Schiller and Mrs. Thomas Hughes to whom gratitude is due.

[2] J. Donnell Tilghman, "Bill for the Construction of the Chase House," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXIII (1938), 23-26, and James Bordley, Jr., "New Light on William Buckland," *ibid.,* XLVI (1951), 153-154.

among the several Edward Lloyds and the early and late ownership of the house by Chases, errors have crept into books which can now be dispelled by the clear authority of the business ledgers of Edward Lloyd IV of "Wye," Talbot County.

It has long been a matter of record that Samuel Chase, one of the most vigorous and colorful of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, bought Lot No. 107 in the flourishing city of Annapolis from Denton Hammond in the year 1769 [3] and started to build a residence. In 1771 he gave up the project and sold out to Edward Lloyd of Wye for £504.8.2 sterling plus £2491.17.7 Maryland currency what had cost him a mere £100.[4] Early writers assumed, therefore, that all or most of the house had been built. The Tilghman article subsequently showed that Lloyd had kept a very exact account of what work had been finished and what was owed Chase for it. There is mention of basement, brick walls, flooring, brick shed with chimney, a well, and some unfinished carved modillions. There is no mention of roof or roofing. Chase had imported a man named Scott from England to supervise and perhaps design his work and Allen Quynn, one of the better known merchants of Annapolis, for "over looking" the building at £30.

Samuel Chase was in 1769 only 28 years of age and had married Ann Baldwin of an old Anne Arundel County family. He is spoken of as a poor and self-made man: poor in comparison to the great legal families of Dulanys and Carrolls as well as to his cousin Jeremiah Townley Chase, for he was the son of a clergyman who had married no fortune; and self-made only in the sense that he had already reached a high place in the legal profession by his own ability. His education was entirely local. He had enthusiastically embraced the cause of the colonies; had been elected to the Assembly four years prior to his house building; and was generally a thorn in the flesh of the self-indulgent, polished "Court Circle." This six-foot, ruddy-faced patriot was "adept at raising the mob," a master of invective eloquence and too outspoken for his own good. However, everyone knew that Sam Chase was ambitious and, as Joshua Johnson put it, "The Lord Baltimore is dead. . . . I do suppose it will make a little confusion

[3] Anne Arundel County Land Records, IB & JB 1, f. 374, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[4] Provincial Court Deeds, DD 5, f. 259, Land Office, Annapolis.

amongst the Court party with you and that you will have a number of new candidates for perferment amongst which I suppose S. Chase is one of the foremost." [5] Lack of money was undoubtedly the cause of Chase's giving up his daring plan to own a house second only to that of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Edward Lloyd, the purchaser of Samuel Chase's unfinished house, did not have to worry about money matters. He came of a long line of wealthy landowners, favored by positions under the Proprietor, and endowed with good business sense. It is unfortunate that in the great collection of Lloyd memorabilia there is so little by which to judge the family save business papers. There is no doubt that the men of succeeding generations were men of keen public spirit, of education and taste. They married into families of the same type. The first Lloyd came up from Virginia with the Puritans ejected from that colony and welcomed by Lord Baltimore. This was in 1650 and four more generations had added thousands of acres to the original holdings, not only in Talbot and Queen Anne's counties but on the Western Shore as well. The fertility of his plantations and their good management put Colonel Edward Lloyd III among the wealthiest men in the Colonies. Since he was a member of the Governor's Council for a matter of 27 years he had owned or rented a house in Annapolis to which he with his wife, Anne Rousby, the daughter and heiress of Colonel John Rousby of "Rousby Hall," Calvert County, repaired for the business and gayety of the winter months.[6] Philemon Lloyd, "The Secretary" his great-uncle, had a dwelling between Hanover and King George Sts., in the capital city as early as 1709, and Edward's aunt, Henrietta Maria Dulany, lived in a mansion which once stood near the present site of the Armory in the Naval Academy. So the Lloyd family's comings and goings from Wye to Annapolis were always part of the scene of that most sophisticated town. Because of the many rivers and inlets as well as the Bay itself that had to be crossed, travel was by water and the Lloyds made use of sail when the wind was favorable or were rowed in a great barge manned by slaves in livery.

[5] Wallace, Davidson, & Johnson Letterbooks, I, 33, Nov. 6, 1771, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[6] Rebecca Lloyd Post Shippen, "The Lloyds of 'Wye House,'" *Maryland Original Research Society Bulletin,* I (1906), 11-17; McHenry Howard, "Lloyd Graveyard at Wye House," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XVII (1922), 20-33, and McHenry Howard, "Wye House, Talbot County," *ibid.,* XVIII (1923), 293-299.

Colonel Lloyd survived his wife by only a year and left a will made many years earlier bequeathing a large fortune to his three surviving children. The father had carefully arranged by will for his son to be educated in England—" send my son home to England for the study of law that he would be proficient to some degree in that Honorable Profession "—but there is no proof that he had carried out this early desire.[7] Edward Lloyd IV was 26 when he became administrator of the enormous combined fortunes of his father and mother, as well as the inheritor of a long conflict over the estate of his great-uncle, Richard Bennett. He had married, November 19, 1767, Elizabeth Tayloe, daughter of Colonel John Tayloe of " Mount Airy," Richmond County, Virginia, and was in 1770 the father of the first of his six daughters. One of the first items in the Lloyd papers to do with this estate is the list of furnishings of a large house, dated 1770 and loose in the back of a ledger marked as the estate book. There is no way of telling whether this is an inventory of Wye House or of one in Annapolis. Another item is a list of all the estate articles, both furniture and clothing not desired by the family, to be sold at Vendue, or public sale. This Vendue must have been quite an event in the racing season of Annapolis for it took place September 26, 1771, at " the Race Grounds " and the servant man at Middleton's Hotel was paid 6 shillings, 3 pence, " for his beating the Drum Tunes round Town," which sum he received in the equal value of a pair of shoes. William Faris, the loquacious silversmith, bought a chafing dish; Dr. Upton Scott made purchases; and William Buckland appears to have bought " sundries to the value of £7;14;8-½." Many of the goods displayed were noted as " badly Rat Eaten," but William Goldsmith found wares sufficiently attractive to satisfy his account against the estate for the use of his " Booth and Toddy " for the auction.

In 1771 when Edward Lloyd IV was elected to represent Talbot County in the Assembly he was obliged to look around for a suitable city home for his growing family. It was then he saw the possibilities of Samuel Chase's unfinished mansion and bought it. The news spread rapidly and was considered important enough to be relayed to England by Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

[7] Anne Arundel County Wills, J. G. 2 (37), f. 469, (probated March 2, 1770), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Colonel Lloyd has purchased Chase's house[;] it has cost ye colonel upwards of £3000 cur[renc]y: and I really think when the offices are finished and the house compleatly furnished it will cost him £6000 more. You are as good a Judge as myself whether ye colonel has acted prudently in buying this house; it is however agreed on all hands that Chase has acted very wisely in selling it: he has got rid of an encumbrance which must have ruined him at ye long run: the money received of Lloyd will extricate him from all difficulties[;] he is now independent, and may if he pleases continue so and become more serviceable to the Public.[8]

And that inveterate letter writer, old Charles, the father, could not resist a dig at a rival son, "Were Loyd my son I should not like His sinking £10,000 in a House." [9]

The house was definitely too large for its one acre lot so Matthias Hammond was persuaded to exchange his lot No. 90 adjacent to it for lots 92 and 105 which Lloyd had previously bought of Thomas Bordley and which were now useless to him. Hammond had ambitions for building a large house for himself and eventually owned four city lots, of which Lloyd's two formed his garden.[10] The only stipulation of this sale other than Hammond's additional £100 was that Lloyd was entitled to all rights "except the Liberty of Removing off said Lott the Susquohannah Stone now lying thereon intended for the new building." [11] Granite was the favored stone in Maryland, coming as it did from the quarries at Havre de Grace by boat. It is possible that Hammond was assembling material for his new home still two years in the future, but it is more than likely that it was for the foundation of the new "public building" as it was generally called at that time, the State House. This lot at the corner of Prince George Street was a block from the State House hill and would have been the only vacant spot upon which to store building supplies.

Exact dating is difficult due to the length of time required to settle accounts with any individual, but about this time Lloyd came in contact with the man he wanted to finish his mansion. Lloyd may have had him come up from Virginia to talk over the plans for there is an expense account for £3 paid William Buckland "for expense of Self and Horse when I purchased New House."

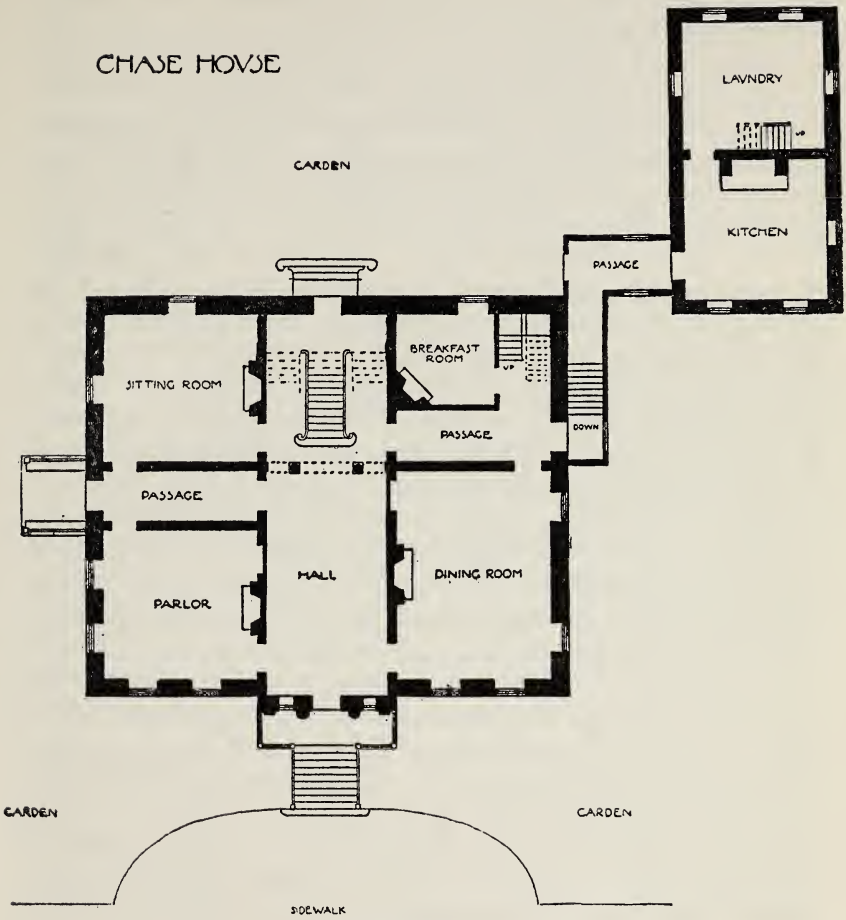
[8] Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll, Barrister, Aug. 9, 1771, Carroll Letterbook (1770-1774), Md. Hist. Soc.
[9] Charles Carroll of Annapolis to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Aug. 16, 1771, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XII (1918), 264.
[10] Anne Arundel Co. Deeds, JB No. 3, f. 405.
[11] Provincial Court Deeds, *op. cit.*, f. 351, Land Office, Annapolis.

For fifteen years Buckland, master builder, designer, and carver had practiced his profession in Richmond County, Virginia, and was well known to the Tayloes of Mount Airy.[12] Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd and her husband would quite naturally have turned to him for advice even if he had not been at this particular moment the fashionable architect of Annapolis. Recently a court record has come to light wherein William Buckland of Anne Arundel County is called in as a professional witness and spoken of as "architect." [13] The Lloyd ledgers show that for the years 1771 and 1772 William Buckland was indeed in complete charge of the work on the Lloyds' city house. During this period he not only drew a salary, but he contracted bills for the supply of bricks, 100,000 of them from one man, 2,800 from another; 44,425 18-inch shingles; "by Joseph Dashiell for 2,258 foot inch planks furnished Mr. Buckland 6th April 1772"; as well as for lime, hair and sheet lead. These items indicate that Buckland's training and experience were being used to full capacity. At any rate, Buckland worked on roof, flooring, and other fundamentals of the house for two years and after that on its refinement. After January, 1773, his accounts were solely for carved work and for "1 month and 20 days wages from 30th August 1773 till the 10th November following at 60 £Sterlg 66 ⅔ PC—£287.4" Apparently, Buckland no longer was overseer after 1772 for the very good reason that he was up to his neck with other commitments. By 1773 Matthias Hammond had started his house directly across the street from Edward Lloyd's. The new State House was well under construction, the Brices, the Ogles, Dr. Scott, and perhaps the Ridouts were dressing up the interiors of earlier built houses. William Paca lent his neighbor, Lloyd, 500 weight of stucco left from the trim of his drawing-room. The town was expanding with its rapidly increasing wealth and Buckland's skill was in great demand.

Late in the year 1772 there enters into the history of the Lloyd house a new character, one William Noke, who is given the title of "Esq." by Lloyd's bookkeeper. A year before Joshua Johnson, the London partner of Annapolis merchants, writing home had asked how the new store and warehouse was progressing. It is

[12] Rosamond R. Beirne, "William Buckland, Architect of Virginia and Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLI (1946), 199.

[13] Anne Arundel County Judgments, DG 1, f. 230, 482, Hall of Records, Annapolis.



(See page 324.)

FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF THE CHASE HOUSE

Drawn by T. Henry Randall for the Architectural Record, *1892,*

possible that Charles Wallace, the senior partner, as was often the custom of the day, had this office and warehouse attached to his dwelling which was near the waterfront. "You tell me," he says, "the house eclips's even Chases' (now Lloyd's) pray tell me whether or not it is agreable to Anderson's Plan or Noakes's. I wish your part was ready to open the goods in."[14] Joseph Horatio Anderson was considered a first rate architect in Annapolis and Noke apparently had a reputation for drawing plans that were comparable. Noke had not long been a Marylander because the earliest record of him so far discovered is of his commission by Governor Eden as collector of Lord Baltimore's Quit Rents.[15] Concurrent with this office he was also appointed Sheriff of Anne Arundel County from September 16, 1772, until December 18, 1776.[16] His name appears through Chancery Court records and in that valuable social history, the account book of William Faris. We know he bought silver teaspoons of Faris and over a friendly "Toddy" borrowed six pounds to carry on some legal fray.[17] Though admonished by the Assembly for not collecting license fees for ordinaries,[18] he seems to have been trusted by two defenseless women in the settling of their business affairs. Noke acquired three tracts of land in the neighborhood of Annapolis; "Gaither's Intent" which he bought of Joseph Horatio Anderson and the seemingly infertile "The Stones" and "Drouth" of John Dodd, a total of 123 acres, all in the year 1774.[19] He lived, however, in a rented house on the city dock.[20] Though his name appears in the settlement of an estate as late as 1778, it seems probable that Noke was a loyal British subject and that in the heat of controversy he betook himself back to England. There are no traces of him in tax lists, marriages, deaths or among those men who took the oath of allegiance. Two of his friends were definitely Tories; Elizabeth Molden who made "William Noke, Gent. her attorney to collect

[14] Wallace, Davidson, & Johnson Letterbooks, I, p. 46, Dec. 28, 1771, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[15] Anne Arundel County Land Records, JB 3, f. 421, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[16] Commission Book (photostat), pp. 189, 193-194, Md. Hist. Soc.

[17] William Faris' Account Books, Md. Hist. Soc.

[18] *Archives of Maryland,* LXIV, 52, 101.

[19] Anne Arundel County Land Records, JB 4, f. 534; JB 5, f. 20, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[20] Anne Arundel County Land Records, NH 1, f. 51, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

sums due her as she is departing for Great Britain," [21] and William Waller for whom he stood bond with two others to the extent of £150 for Waller's appearance before the Council of Safety. Waller was accused of attempting to convey intelligence to Lord Dunmore but swore "he had been sitting up with Governor Eden at Colonel Fitzhugh's and had asked David Hunter of Calvert County to use his boat for a letter." [22] A most suspicious evening! However this may be, William Noke was a gentleman active about the town, with some knowledge of drawing plans and of the supervision of building and late in 1772 he took over the work on Edward Lloyd's new house when William Buckland withdrew.

Here in the Lloyd account books is a heading for "Mr. William Noke, for New House at Annapolis," under which this entry appears: "By his wages [Noke's] from Nov. 1772—Oct. 1774 £191.13.4." There follow the accounts of the subcontractors for bricks, bricklaying, poplar, scaffolding, carpenters and joiners, and the decorative plaster work done by Rawlings and Barnes. These last two talented men had but lately arrived from London and were set up in Annapolis where "Gentlemen may be waited on with designs for Ceilings and Cornices on the shortest notice." [23] It is interesting to note that Edward Lloyd employed Rawlings & Barnes and bought his lumber from Joseph Dashiell of Somerset County some 14 years before General George Washington did the same when he built his banquet hall at Mount Vernon.[24]

It is obvious that little but the roof and interior remained to be designed when Buckland, and later Noke, undertook the completion of Chase's original house. However, on the extra lot which extended to Prince George Street a very large stable and coach house was erected. This building was of brick, 90 by 10 feet with two wings, 36 by 20 each.[25] Here were rooms for house servants as well as stalls for the Lloyd string of horses when the Maryland Jockey Club was holding its Annapolis races. Horses were part of the life of the rich colonial gentleman, encouraged by the example of the Maryland governors. Great rivalry existed

[21] Anne Arundel County Land Records, JB 5, f. 107, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[22] *Archives of Maryland,* XI, 516 (June 25, 1776).
[23] *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Feb. 14, 1771, p. 2, col. 2.
[24] Gerald W. Johnson and C. C. Wall, *Mount Vernon, The Story of A Shrine* (New York, 1953), pp. 102, 103, 112, 115.
[25] Anne Arundel Co. Tax List of 1798, Md. Hist. Soc.

between the Tayloes and Baylors of Virginia, the DeLancys of Philadelphia and a group of Marylanders, among whom were three generations of Edward Lloyds. Several horses were bought from the Tayloes; one bought of John Gibson, in 1779 was valued at £1000; two stud horses stood at Wye. The best known of the Lloyd horses, however, was the imported mare "Nancy Bywell," inherited by Edward Lloyd IV from his father and the only nag in Maryland to beat Fitzhugh's "Regulus" and De Lancy's mare "Lath." She won races in 1771, 1772, and 1773.[26] Oxford, Easton, and Chestertown as well as Annapolis were racing centers, and Lloyd was one of the men who revived the Jockey Club in 1783. A stable was an important adjunct to an estate in those days and there were many trips from Wye to the capital city in the big coach, ferried over the water route. Oats and nights' lodging figure in the Day Books. When this stable, years later was demolished and that part of the estate sold, the new Presbyterian church on Duke of Gloucester Street was built of its bricks.[27]

Another large piece of construction which occupied Noke was "The Party Wall," the great brick boundary between the Lloyd lots and those of Benjamin Ogle. The two owners agreed to share the cost so that the £380 is carefully divided at the completion in 1774. The Wall stands 10 feet high, two bricks wide with bracing abutments and a coping and took 94,100 bricks bought of John Hammond who undoubtedly made them of his good red Anne Arundel clay. They were brought by boat from the Hammond place at the head of the Severn River. The coping took 4,200 special brick, while 2,030 bushels of lime, scaffolding, and many hours of laborers' time were used in this project. Since the house was essentially a city house on a city street the wall insured privacy on the Ogle side. The Northeast (now Maryland Avenue) Street side of the garden is protected from passing view by an ingenious mound of earth. Investigation of the cellar shows no signs of an opening in the foundation wall at this point such as might extend to a wine cellar. It seems to be a man-made bank extending from the side entrance of the house, paralleling the street and high enough above the heads of passers-by to conceal

[26] Francis B. Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (Baltimore, 1922), 47, 63, 64, and *passim*.

[27] Peter H. Magruder, "Annapolis in Bygone Days," *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, 55 (June, 1929), 511.

the garden at the rear. There are items in the account book which show that a gardener was employed at Annapolis and because he had a large stone "rowler" cut for him the garden lawns must have been extensive. James Ayres, "Gardiner," put in 142 days work in the Spring of 1774 for £28.9 but bought less than two pounds worth of seeds and plants.

As Noke supervised work on the outside of the new house Buckland installed the carved chimney pieces, the cornices, the chair-rails, and the shutters. The work had been executed at his shop perhaps by the London carvers who time he boasted of owning, but it took nearly two months to get it all in place. Strangely enough, the dining room rather than the drawing room is the handsomest. Imported marble mantels are in both but it is in the dining room that Buckland gave full vent to his imagination and did his best work. The enframement of the mantel, the mouldings around the window frames, the elaborate chair rail unlike any other in America, with an almost four-inch projection from the wall, the elaborately carved panels of the inside shutters, make this one of the great Georgian rooms of America. The rich mahogany doors have an incised line of carved ornament in the center and are furnished with solid silver drop handles and escutcheons. The cornices are delicate and the festoons of ribbons, grapes, and roses, Greek fret, and scrolls highly elaborate. In this room the ornamented plaster ceiling is gone, victim of the wear and tear of time.

Rawlings & Barnes' ceiling is still in place in the drawing room across the entrance hall. It is of a conventional design and has not the delicacy of their later work. The woodwork of this parlor is demure compared to that of the great dining room. To be sure, it has a carved ornate marble mantel depicting Shakespeare being handed keys by the Goddess of Wisdom. At the rear of the house are two charming smaller rooms, the family sitting room and dining room. The latter, unfortunately, has had to exchange beauty for comfort and has been converted into the kitchen. One of Buckland's mantels and the delicate cornices are still in place in the other.

As the visitor enters by a high flight of steps to the front door, the white stoop and picket fence are much as they have always been. The door with its brass knocker and flanking Ionic pilasters

and windows, is wide and hospitable. The massiveness and severe simplicity of the exterior of the house, broken only by rubbed brick string-courses and classical cornice, does not prepare one for the beauty and refinement of detail of the interior. Unless other Lloyd ledgers be found no one will know whether Buckland or Noke is responsible for the beautiful cantilevered stairway that greets the eye from the door. This frames the great Palladian window which lights the hall, divides at a landing and continues to the unusual height of the second floor without visible means of support. Each step is formed of a solid block of wood supported by the wall and the step below. Ionic columns on either side of the stair at the cross hall add dignity to the approach. Since Buckland designed similar windows in other houses and because of the perfect proportions of the ensemble, it seems almost surely his work.

The second-story hall, also lighted by the Palladian window, is trimmed with all the elaborateness of a drawing-room. Curved niches for statuary flank the central bedroom door with its broken pediment. Arches cover the symmetrical side doors leading to corridors and other bedrooms. Refinement of detail in stair rail and moulding is everywhere apparent, while the cornice is varied from that of the hall below. There are two unusual features in this house both of practical value. A back stair ascends from first to third floor and this full third floor is in itself unique in Annapolis. The water view over the harbor which was so much desired is gained from the front rooms on both upper floors, thanks to the lower elevation of the Hammond-Harwood house across the street. This, the story goes, was a preconceived arrangement between the two young owners.

The massive 18-inch walls laid in Flemish bond with inimitable exactness to a hair line of mortar are supported by a stone foundation forming the cellar. The original kitchen must have been here in the large bright room under the dining room, with its enormous fireplace still intact, for the tax list of 1798, so careful to enumerate all the usual outbuildings, fails to mention any attachments to the Lloyd mansion but the stable.[28] Between the great chimneys in the cellar runs a vaulted ceiling laid in English bond. This was the wine cellar, the largest in Annapolis except

[28] Anne Arundel Co. Tax list of 1798, Md. Hist. Soc.

THE UPPER HALL

THE LOWER HALL

THE PALLADIAN WINDOW ON THE STAIR LANDING

THE DOORWAY IN THE DINING ROOM

Photo, M. E. Warren, Annapolis

THE DINING ROOM

Photo, M. E. Warren, Annapolis

THE LLOYD FAMILY

Edward Lloyd, Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd, and their Daughter, Anne.
Painting by Charles Willson Peale, 1771.

Courtesy Miss Elizabeth Lloyd Lowndes

for the Carrolls' and proof of the extent of the Lloyds' entertaining. Account books show the "swapping" of madeira and champagne with Charles Carroll of Carrollton and with Governor Eden. In fact, when the Lloyds were in winter residence the doors were continually open to official guests and a large family circle. One can picture a repast beginning with 22-½ quarts of turtle (terrapin?) prepared by George Mann at his hostelry, continuing through the epicurean delight of J. B. Bordley's Christmas Pie and topped off with several of the Colonel's rare vintages.[29] A list of wines imported by Edward Lloyd III in 1770 includes "Claret, Madeira, French Brandy, Konaack, Country Brandy, Geneva, Rum, Spezel Wine, Seveit Wine, Cordials."

It becomes obvious through the reading of tax lists that the brick kitchen and laundry (now a dwelling house) to the north and now attached by a strange enclosed passage, is of a later date and was probably used only as a summer kitchen. The two story porch on the south side of the house is a relatively recent addition likewise. This porch covers an attractive side entrance which like the garden entrance at the rear probably had only a small stoop. Indentations in the brick wall on either side of the side door indicate that more formal treatment was planned. Other changes have been the obliteration of a fireplace in the entrance hall and the necessary subdivision of some of the large bedrooms. It is extremely doubtful if the hall fireplace existed before the mid-19th century. The only early photograph shows it in all its hideous mid-Victorian embellishments, dark wood mantel shelf and mirror frame.[30] As none of the other chimney pieces were tampered with it is presumed that Miss Chase installed this in 1847 for her personal comfort, little thinking that it would someday lead to tragedy, and sometime following that tragedy it was eliminated.

As the completion of the house drew near Edward Lloyd IV began to justify the title given him by his descendants, "The Magnificent," as well as that given him by historians, "The

[29] John Beale Bordley to Edward Lloyd, Lloyd MSS, n. d. Quotes Glass's Book, p. 139 from memory: "A fat Swan, however old, is fine, as the whole Pie, when it be frozen and thawed several times, and is of sound standing. Our materials were, a Swan, a Turkey or two, a Goose, 2 to 4 Pullets, 4 Ducks, (sometimes Beef Steaks) etc. It is fortunate to have a cold Winter for freezing the Pie often, by which the old Swan, the Crust etc. are improved and made tender—the Crust short."

[30] T. Henry Randall, "Colonial Annapolis," *Architectural Record,* I (Jan.-Mar., 1892), 309.

Patriot." The break with England had not yet been made and the young planter was reaping rich harvests of tobacco and wheat, selling his crops through agents in the Mother Country and his pork, beef, and wool locally. In the confusing credit system of the day he received in return from abroad the luxuries which could not be supplied by American craftsmen, his fine wines, and his plantation equipment. So large was his private business, his rent collecting, his buying and selling for many large plantations, for his large family and for close to one thousand slaves, that he employed an agent in Annapolis as well as those in London. In the accounts of Arthur Bryan, the agent in Annapolis, we find several other payments to William Noke for work done off and on until the year 1776, but whether in Annapolis or on some plantation, we cannot tell. We find records of rebuilding the home site, Wye.[31] Where Edward Lloyd entertained the Squire of Mount Vernon, October 8, 1772, during the Annapolis racing season, remains a mystery for the new house was not completed.[32]

Difficult as it was for most of the wealthier colonists to determine their fate and fortunes, there was never a question as to which side Edward Lloyd would take. His brother, Richard Bennett Lloyd, had been educated and married in England and so sought and received a commission in the Coldstream Guards. Though he took no active part in the Revolution he was received with utter lack of enthusiasm by his friends in Annapolis when he returned after the war. His wife, however, a noted English beauty, was feted by natives and visitors alike and no doubt was the cause of much jealousy among her sex. Edward held a militia commission in Talbot County and was on the powerful Committees of Correspondence and Safety.[33] He seems to have been responsible for procuring " Iron ordanance," 6-pounders and smaller weapons from England because he explains to " the Honorable Convention of Maryland that the guns were more expensive than those procured by William Paca because the canon was procured from Great Britain in the heat of War." Because of his interest in agriculture and his position on the Eastern Shore much of his time was occupied with furnishing food and clothing for the

[31] J. Donnell Tilghman, " Wye House," *Md. Hist. Mag.,* XLVIII (June, 1953), 89-108.
[32] J. C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Diaries of Washington* (New York, 1925), II, 82.
[33] Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 178-180.

Continental Army. Alarms were frequent in Maryland and his own Wye did not escape the bands of marauders always on the lookout for supplies for British ships.

Since the races and all forms of entertainment were forbidden and travel was dangerous the Lloyd family stayed close to Wye during these turbulent years. Colonel Lloyd was forced to attend meetings of the Assembly at Annapolis and later Continental Conventions. His 60-ton pleasure boat mounted guns and was used for business only, flying the Lloyd colors of azure and gold. There is an entry in a ledger showing that Lloyd lodged at Middleton's Inn while in Annapolis on official business. Such a trip in 1776 took him to dinner at a Club and resulted in his remembering Mrs. Lloyd with a pair of silk mitts. It was now that the dignity of his position required the use of a dress sword which he ordered of William Faris, who also engraved 20 coat buttons, perhaps with Lloyd crest.[34]

The war over, Edward the Magnificent continued in the steps of his forebears. He had been defeated for Governor by Thomas Sim Lee but rose to the highest councils of his State, served in the Continental Congress, was a member of the Convention of 1788 which ratified the Constitution and entertained Lafayette in 1784 at his Annapolis house.[35] During these years of accumulated honors he also collected a family of six daughters and one son. Charles Wilson Peale had appeared at Wye in 1771 to paint the Lloyd portraits and depicted Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd at 21, a plump young matron strumming on a guitar. Edward has a strong, handsome face and the build of an athlete concealed by his maroon velvet coat. Between the parents sits their eldest child, Anne. Later in life Peale painted miniatures of the parents and portraits of other daughters as well as a parlor piece called "Venus rising from the Sea."[36] At Wye, too, was a library of 1,000 volumes, largely books on agriculture, though the classics and history are represented as well as architecture, the latter by Abraham Swan's *British Architect*. A fond father's solicitude for his children is shown in an order from England for eight tooth-

[34] Faris Account Book, Md. Hist. Soc.

[35] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1950), p. 1468, and Mrs. Shippen, "The Lloyds," *loc. cit.*

[36] Charles C. Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale* (Philadelphia, 1952), pp. 128-130. Reference to "Venus rising from the Sea" is in Lloyd Account Book, Mar. 15, 1774.

brushes but for his son and heir he adds the solace of a toy gun. The bevy of Lloyd daughters all found suitable husbands, and it was in Annapolis that they apparently met their fates, for not one husband was an Eastern Shoreman. The most famous of the marriages which took place in their city home was that of the youngest daughter, Mary Tayloe, to Francis Scott Key, an aspiring young lawyer who had come to Annapolis for his education.

Though the old idea that good living induces gout has been exploded, it may have contributed to Edward Lloyd's chronic malady. He once ordered his coachmaker to see that his "chariot be easy for I am gouty man." He was among the early developers of Bath Town (Berkeley Springs) for he bought a lot there in 1778 where tidewater Virginians and Marylanders sought cures for their current ills. It was in a term of the State Senate that he wrote Governor George Plater, "The severe periodical paraxisims of gout at this season and business of a private nature prevents my giving that attendance in the Senate which it is my duty to do" and resigned his seat.[37]

This was the last public action of Edward Lloyd IV. He died in 1796 leaving his widow to handle his vast estate, his seventeen year old heir and his future sons-in-law. Edward V, the future governor, lost no time in getting married for in 1797 he took a little neighbor as his bride. Sally Scott Murray was the daughter of Dr. James Murray of Prince George Street. Before he had made his choice, however, he attended a ball given at Bladensburg by his sister Mrs. Richard Tasker Lowndes, and a shrewd reporter, the beautiful Nellie Custis of Mount Vernon, wrote her friend Elizabeth Bordley, "I saw her sister Miss Loyd and her brother Edward—he is not yet eighteen and as great a fop as I have seen." [38] Perhaps his mother was in some way responsible for this impression and for making her only son ever conscious of the name he bore and his position in Maryland. She writes him from Annapolis, held in the city perhaps by an ill husband. The letter starts off with business arrangements which this youth of fourteen was to make and continues on with an admonition "not to be too violent in your politics. Remember you are a young man and have no vote. You may lose your own consequence by acting im-

[37] Edward Lloyd to George Plater, Nov. 19, 1788, Corner MSS, Md. Hist. Soc.
[38] Eleanor Parke Custis to Miss Bordley, 1797, MSS collection, Mt. Vernon Ladies Assoc. of the Union.

properly. . . . I saw Coe and beged him to make your Regimentals of the best cloth and long to see you dressed in them. Hope you will look well. I never saw Charles Carroll look so ill in his. . . . Am grieved to think it will be so long before I see you for my Heart Doats on you fondly." [39]

The boy's education in politics began early and he apparently had a flair for it. There is an unauthenticated story that he fought a duel with Robert Wright, later Governor and a political rival, over some local feud. Faris notes it in his diary as of September 24, 1794, and calls them "General Lloyd and Major Wright" and says Lloyd received two wounds and Wright one. At this time Edward Lloyd was fifteen years old and could hardly have been a General. But his gouty father may have been the duellist. However, two other historians have carried on the story, insisting that it was the Governor and even quote the conversation that went on between the antagonists and the child of Governor Wright who was acting as his second.[40] From all this fire it seems probable that the Lloyds were in the smoke of politics on the Eastern Shore, where none is hotter.

Edward V's career started with his election at 21 to the General Assembly and he seems to have been forced to spend more months in Annapolis than on his Wye estates as he was a member of the Assembly most of his adult life. The only breaks were three years as Governor and seven years in the United States Senate. It has been assumed that Lloyd lived in his own house during his term of office as Governor. This is most unlikely. The handsome Governor's mansion (on the present site of Bancroft Hall) was at his disposal and among the Lloyd papers is an inventory of that house. Two outstanding contributions to history were made by this Edward Lloyd—he was an advocate of universal suffrage which took courage in those days, and he was claimed by Richard Parkinson, the British agriculturist, to have the best managed and most productive farms that he saw in his visit to America.[41]

Governor Lloyd died at his mother-in-law's in Annapolis, of gout it is said, in 1834 at the age of 55. In 1826 he had sold his

[39] Elizabeth (Tayloe) Lloyd to Edward Lloyd, July, 1793, Lloyd MSS.
[40] W. O. Stevens, *Pistols at Ten Paces* (Boston, 1940), p. 80. H. E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), p. 66.
[41] Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America* . . . (London, 1805), I, 226-228. Tilghman, *Talbot County, op. cit.*, I, 184-210.

own house to his son-in-law, Henry Hall Harwood, for $6500.[42] The house had been assessed in 1798 at £2570, the second highest assessment in the city.[43] Harwood dying in 1839 and his widow soon after, their children, Mrs. Tilton and Mrs. Ghiselin, put the house up for sale.

By this time the Lloyd fortune was on the wane and the family scattering. Land had become a liability and not an asset. Divided among so many children, little was left for daughters' dowers. Wye, the home plantation, descended always to the eldest son but that son began to know the meaning of the term "land poor." It so happened that in 1846 the venerable brick residence of Judge Jeremiah Townley Chase on King George Street was gutted by fire and that his daughter Miss Hester Ann Chase was in need of a residence that befitted her means and station in life. For the modest sum of $5,000 the property changed hands and went out of the Lloyd family's history.[44] For 76 years it had belonged to the Lloyds but from 1847 to the present day it has been known as the Chase house.

A pen portrait of Miss Hester Ann Chase has been left us by young Isaac Van Bibber who was circling Maryland in an effort to raise funds for a new Episcopal church in Westminster: [45]

> At first sight it appeared as if one of the portraits hanging around had gently sunk into the wall, made a slight change in costume, silently reappeared and gracefully descended from the frame. She was a lady who seemed to blend in the happiest manner the most contradictory elements; she was dignified, though short; intellectual, though fat; motherly, although a maiden.

And she was charitable which softened his heart to her, unlike Mrs. Harwood and her daughter who practiced the Lloyd hospitality and invited him to dinner but were not disposed to building churches.

Miss Chase lived until 1875, willing her house to her three nieces, daughters of her sister Matilda and Thomas Chase, son of Samuel, the original builder.[46] The two unmarried sisters came to

[42] Liber EH, 399 (May 11, 1826), Anne Arundel Co. Court House.
[43] Anne Arundel Co. Tax List of 1798.
[44] Anne Arundel County Land Records, IHN 2, f. 623, (November 5, 1847), Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[45] "Diary of Isaac Van Bibber," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIX (1944), 237.
[46] Matilda, Frances C. T., and Hester Ann. Orphans Court, Anne Arundel Co., 119-10 W. B. 233 (1875), Annapolis.

live in the big house. It was in 1884 that the tragedy of the hall fireplace took place. A spark caught the flimsy dress of Miss Matilda and before members of the household could reach her she was dead. Miss Fannie followed her sister to St. Anne's cemetery in two years. Her death left the house to the remaining and married sister, the widow of the Rev. Samuel Ridout, M. D. In 1886 by the will of Hester Ann Chase Ridout, the Diocese of Maryland of the Protestant Episcopal Church became the next and present owner. The provision read, " For a Home for destitute, aged and infirm women where they may find a retreat from the vicissitudes of Life and to endow the same as far as my means will allow and to be known as the ' Chase Home ' . . . together with furniture (not including family portraits or silverware)." [47] Unfortunately for the management of this home, Mrs. Ridout died suddenly just before her attorney arrived to obtain her signature to a codicil leaving an endowment of $200,000. Through the difficult days of depression, inflation, and wars much of the fine furnishings had to be sold to pay for repairs. A set of Oriental Export china with the Townley-Chase coat-of-arms is safe in the custody of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Other pieces have crept into private collections. But the curious visitor may examine the ground floor for himself and realize that the house has retained most of its beauty unchanged. Limited as is the present lot, the garden with its high " Party-Wall " still holds charm. The dignity that Sam Chase and his Scott gave to the exterior and the happy blend of delicacy and sophistication Buckland, Rawlings & Barnes, and William Noke gave to the living apartments of this dwelling house make it outstanding in this age or any other.

[47] W. B. 57, 233 (1886), Orphans Court, Anne Arundel Co.

A VIRGINIAN AND HIS BALTIMORE DIARY

By Douglas Gordon

AMONG the freshmen who arrived at New Haven as the fall term of 1826 began, was a young Virginian named John Montgomery Gordon.[1] He was the son of Samuel Gordon and Susannah Fitzhugh Knox Gordon and was born at "Kenmore" in Fredericksburg on February 4, 1810.

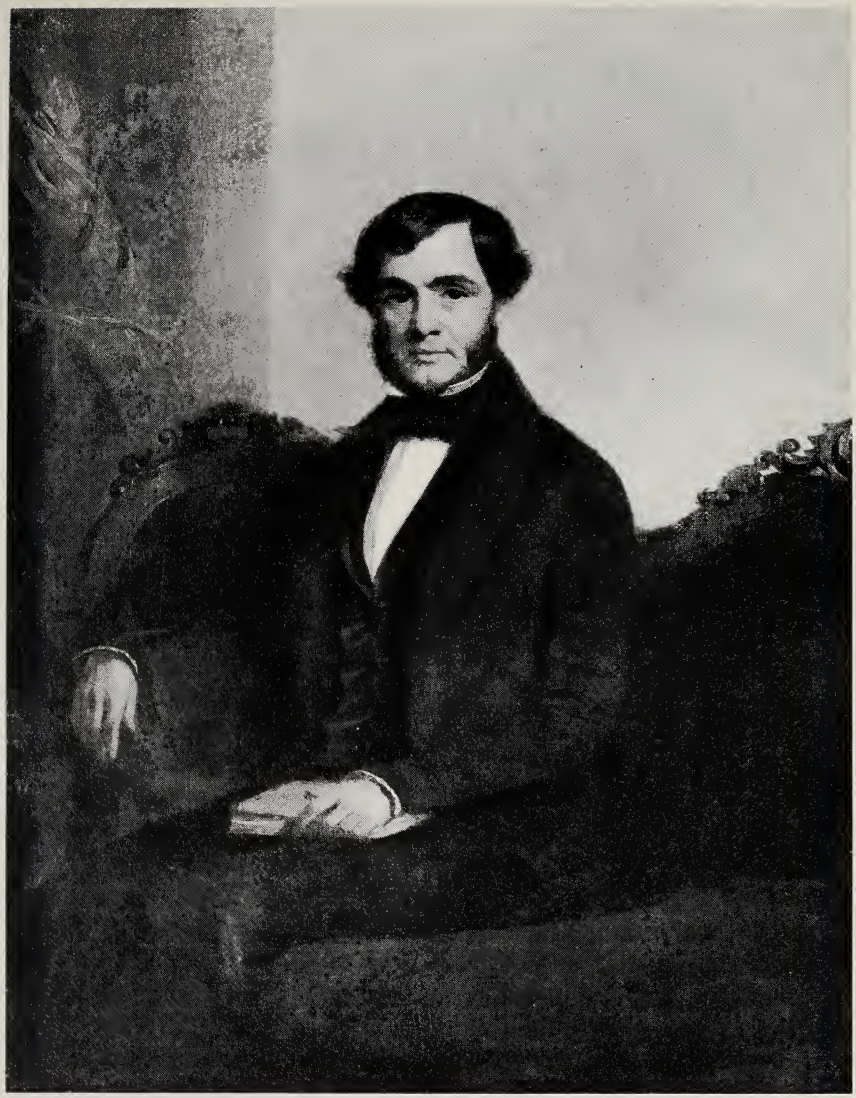
Samuel Gordon and his younger brother, Bazil, who lived across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg in the hamlet of Falmouth, had come to America together in 1783, had worked hard, and prospered greatly. One of the activities of the two brothers was the formation of their jointly-owned library. In its well chosen books they inserted a simple printed ex-libris with the names "Samuel and Bazil Gordon" followed by the date January 1, 1800.[2] John Montgomery Gordon acquired in his childhood home a taste for reading. He also had the advantage of studying in the Fredericksburg "Academy" of John Goolrick, a mathematically disposed Irishman, from whom he learned Latin and acquired a love of calculations of every sort. In his later life he refers to his boyhood fishing and bird-snaring, his "circle of

[1] The present sketch of the life of John Montgomery Gordon is based primarily on his diary, presented to the Society by his granddaughters, Rebecca Gordon Poultney and Mrs. Charles Randolph Wharton Smith, née Emily Chapman Poultney. A group of family letters likewise owned by the Society has also been utilized, but to a much smaller extent.

The diary began in 1835 and continued to July, 1842. It was undoubtedly kept throughout the diarist's subsequent life, but the only additional volume still in existence is one which runs from August, 1866, to September, 1868. There is also a "Lochdougan Farm Journal" extending from May, 1869, to January, 1870, which describes the purchase of an abandoned farm near Norfolk, where the diarist then lived. It was renamed for the birthplace of Samuel Gordon, his Father, in Kircudbrightshire. A nearby farm named "Eagle's Nest," also belonged to John Montgomery Gordon.

Excerpts from the diary, except for a lengthy account of a journey to Michigan in 1836, will be published in installments from time to time in the *Magazine*.

[2] The bulk of this library now belongs to Mrs. George Barnett of Washington, D. C. The original owners evidently thought January 1, 1800, to be the first day of the 19th century, which actually began just one year later.



JOHN MONTGOMERY GORDON

Saturday playmates," and water-melon feasts under the "Big Tree" in Falmouth. The activities of his maturity show that he must also, in his younger days, have enjoyed riding, hunting, and other like pleasures. When he matriculated at Yale at the age of sixteen his tastes and character were formed. He was well qualified to secure the best that a college education afforded.

During the next four years, Gordon acquired a thorough classical education, was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa Society, studied law to some extent, and made hosts of friends.[3] In fact, when he began a diary in 1835, he lamented that he had not kept one while at college, as it would have afforded "a faithfull and accurate narrative of the minutest events of the sunniest part of my existence." (On second thoughts, he added parenthetically that his married life, then in its sixteenth month, alone deserved this "epithet").

Among the close friends of this collegiate period, looked back upon so fondly, was James S. Wadsworth of Genesseo, New York, who was studying law at Yale during 1829-1830. After taking his A. B. in the spring of 1830, the youthful graduate together with William Lee Corbin of Caroline County, Virginia, a graduate of Princeton (also during the previous academic year a law student at Yale), took a trip to Niagara Falls. En route they spent a fortnight visiting the Wadsworth family and that of Edward Church, another member of the class of 1830.

At the Falls, the travellers met Emily Chapman, the nineteen-year-old daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Chapman of Philadelphia. Gordon had planned to go to the Harvard Law School, and did so the following year. But he left before the academic year had finished, evidently so as to be able to begin practising at the earliest moment. Three years later, on November 21, 1833, he and Emily Chapman were married in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and came to Baltimore to live, endowed with a wedding present from Samuel Gordon of 101 shares of the Bank of Virginia and 120 shares of the Farmers' Bank of Virginia, the income from which sufficed in those days for a family's comfortable existence.

Then began what really was the sunniest period of the newly-wed's life. He was admitted to the Bar by the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City on March 10, 1834, and quickly became successful

[3] *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University* is the source of material on the careers of Yale graduates in this sketch.

in his profession. He was elected a Director of the prosperous Union Bank of Maryland, because of his father's and probably his uncle's ownership of stock. This helped his practice, made available business opportunities and gave him an important position in the community. Through his wife's mother, née Rebecca Cornell Biddle, he was connected with Nicholas Biddle, President of the doomed Bank of the United States, who still wielded great power, and also with his less spectacular but more sound private banking cousin, Thomas Biddle, who was Mrs. Chapman's brother. Dr. Chapman himself, originally a Virginian, was the leading physician of Philadelphia. Further, he was Secretary and later President of the American Philosophical Society. He strengthened his son-in-law's Virginia connections and increased what had always been a source of pleasure and pride—his circle of cultivated and important friends.

But the greatest happiness of the rising young lawyer-banker was in his home and family. He first appears in the City *Director* of 1835-6 as living on Fayette Street near St. Paul, just halfway between the Union Bank and the Court House. The house he occupied, though a rented one, he loved as " my own dear home." In Emily Chapman he had a wife who was perfectly congenial. " What a Treasure is a woman's heart," he wrote in the opening pages of his diary, begun when she was expected home from a visit to her parents. Their eldest child, Chapman Gordon, was the idol of the family circle. His Philadelphia grandmother endlessly proclaimed his sweetness and his intelligence (shown, according to one of her letters, by his skill in games of " pomps, whoop, etc."). His father more soberly recorded his early babblings in English and French, excused his lack of tricks by saying this showed " a philosophical turn of mind," rejoiced in the daily growth of his intelligence, and never mentioned his name without adding some endearing term, or otherwise showing how greatly he loved him.

The family grew; another son was born who died shortly after birth, and three daughters, of whom two lived to maturity. The father's happiness expanded to include others' children, not excepting young married people, whose concerns, he confessed, enormously interested him. One of his pleasures in visiting Fredericksburg was to bring presents to his many nephews and nieces. On these visits he enjoyed to the full his Virginia family, " the

beauties of Kenmore," the town of Fredericksburg, nearby Falmouth, and homes of friends and relations, in the surrounding country—" Santee," " Albion," " Bedford," " Prospect Hill," and " Gay Mont." The simplicity of Southern life, too, delighted him after the metropolitan existence of Philadelphia and Baltimore.

It must be added that Baltimore still supplied many unsophisticated attractions fully enjoyed by the Gordons. They and Mrs. Chapman went to see Adrien the magician and " were highly gratified." Four dwarfs from Virginia, " perfect liliputians," a balloon ascension at Fairmount, a Chinese woman, a phrenologist—all, no doubt, great spectacles in those days—were considered worthy of mention in the diary. The Chinese woman caused disappointment by not exhibiting her feet—according to the diary " the only thing worth seeing." And the phrenologist " was wrong in nearly every particular." The diarist's more usual mood of enthusiasm was displayed when he attended the races at Canton with his older friend, William Lorman, and was so excited by a close finish that he " could not help several loud shouts."

The conviviality of John Gordon is shown by the pleasure he took in entertaining his Virginia relations, his Philadelphia in-laws, his class-mates, and many others. He enjoyed being a member of the Monday Club, an intellectual circle centering about John P. Kennedy, and of the Conversation Club, likewise apparently run by Kennedy, who, at least, informed him of his election to it. He was a Director of the Library Company, and once a year ate haggis with the St. Andrew's Society. His accounts of the suppers he provided for the Monday Club members, and the careful lists of those who attended, when the meetings were at his home, prove that this was his favorite organization.

The Gordon diary paints a vivid picture of the entertainments which gave Baltimore its reputation for easy socialibility. Its author took his wife and her Philadelphia friend, Sallie Waln, to a " very charming " musical party at " Belvedere." The following day they attended a " very agreeable " party of about 50 at Richard Caton's in honor of Andrew Stevenson, the Richmond lawyer, who had been Speaker of the House of Representatives, but was then American Minister at the Court of St. James. The day after that, a mid-day dinner took place at the home of Edward Gray, the father-in-law of John P. Kennedy, at Ellicott's Mills, which the guests reached by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. A " chit

chat party at Birckhead's " received the comment, " very pleasant." Mr. Lorman's evening party with music, cream and strawberries, Mrs. Benjamin I. Cohen's Fancy Ball, Grafton Dulany's musical party are described, as are many other evening gatherings (called " Wistars " from the parties given during the presidency of Caspar Wistar, by the Philadelphia members of the Philosophical Socity). These at times had an intellectual aspect, as for example, when Robert Gilmor gave an account of his autograph collection, declaring it to be " the rarest, though not the largest, in the U. S." [4] and when Archbishop Samuel Eccleston showed his guests " a very fine painting by Domenichino." Conversely at the annual meeting of the Union Bank stockholders, presumably a serious event, gaiety was introduced by serving claret sangaree.

Dr. Chapman frequently invited his son-in-law to Philadelphia for such a " pleasant little frolic "—to use Mrs. Chapman's words —as the annual dinner of the Philosophical Society, or a like occasion. His ties with his wife's native city, in addition, been made more close by the marriage of his friend Wadsworth and the beautiful Mary Craig Wharton, a friend of the Chapmans.

John Gordon lost no opportunity to find interesting events. He journeyed to Philadelphia to hear Horace Binney's oration on John Marshall after the great Chief Justice's death there. He heard Chief Justice Taney charge the Federal Grand jury in Baltimore. He witnessed the " solemn farce " of the Van Buren Convention, and when Virginia cast its vote for Jackson's choice and successor, exclaimed " Parva sapientia regitur mundus." Six years later he attended the inauguration of the sound and thoroughly Anti-Jacksonian Whigs, William Henry Harrison and John Tyler. He noted that 15,000 people had come to it over the rail road " making a handsome receipt to the Road." On another visit to Washington he " went to the capitol and heard Clay, Calhoun, Webster and Preston."

But, despite these enjoyable activities, he loved, even more, " to be alone with nature." He frequently hunted at " Belmont," " Judge " Hanson's home.[5] He never got over his childhood enjoyment of fishing, and kept careful records of his catches. He

[4] Gilmor presented his autograph collection to the Maryland Historical Society in 1845.

[5] See J. H. Scarff, " Belmont, Howard County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (March, 1953), 37-52.

longed for a country place. " Belvedere " he considered " the most desirable country seat I know." Robert Oliver's " Greenmount " of which the chatelaine was a Philadelphian, and a connection of Mrs. Chapman, and the Thomas Oliver home at Elkridge, he mentioned admiringly. Dr. Thomas Edmondson's home he praised for its " most beautiful position, the best point of view for the Bay and City . . . and the grounds, highly embellished by a correct and very experienced taste." He enviously cited the purchase of " Homewood " by Samuel Wyman for $25,150. Of Bolton he said " what would I not give for such a residence! ". And as he contemplated " life in the country and the beauties of vegetation " he sighed " O rus, quando aspiciam te? "

As a young boy, already a reader and possessed of a working knowledge of Latin, he peopled the glades near Fredericksburg " with the beautiful creatures that first unfolded themselves to " his " imagining in the pages of Ovid and Virgil." His early taste for reading became stronger as he grew older. Even on a horseback trip through Michigan in 1836 he carried four volumes of the Beauties of Blair, Burke, Johnson, and Sterne. Though he spoke of his " love of poetry and romance " his favorite author was Swift, and his " favorite play, the wittiest ever written," was Sheridan's " School for Scandal." The Greek, Latin, and French classics he enjoyed untranslated in daily reading. He even expressed the fear that his " preference for works of taste and belles lettres ' might be ' becoming a little too strong for the advancement of Law and the sciences." In fact, the reading by which he maintained continuous contact with the great minds of the past was probably an important factor in his rapid advance in the business world, based as that essentially was on good judgment.

One of the maxims of the Diary is " Fools look forward to tomorrow, wise men seize today." Never did a Horatian idea suffer greater violence at the hands of one who seemed to do homage to it than from John Gordon. He was constantly anxious about business matters. Despite the wide range of his intellectual interests, he worked hard and gradually moved ahead. In 1835 he was made acting Cashier of the Union Bank. The following year he moved to a more imposing house at the Southwest corner of St. Paul and Saratoga Streets, and also journeyed to Michigan with Clement Biddle, son of Thomas, and laid the foundation of

a fortune by buying government land. Several Diary references to fees indicate his professional income was substantial and increasing. In 1839 he was designated as President of the Hamilton Bank by Thomas Dunlop, President of the Bank of the United States [6] by which the local organization was being formed. This Bank never came into existence, as planned. But in 1841, upon the insolvency of Hugh W. Evans, Gordon succeeded him as President of the Union Bank of Maryland. A few weeks later he gratified his long craving by acquiring the country home of John McKim, Jr. In the diary he said: "Its name 'Darley Hall' we have changed into the more euphonious name of 'Huntly,' a family name." Actually in fond reminiscence of his boyhood home, he called his country seat Kenmuir. He was, two years later, upon the death of William Lorman, elected President of the Fredericks-town, Boonsborough, and Cumberland Turnpike Road companies. By 1842 he had therefore satisfied all his ambitions, and was justified in expecting the rest of his life to be sunny.

Dark clouds too soon appeared. In 1844 his daughter Emily died; in 1846 the precocious and much loved Chapman. "Kenmuir" was sold the following year; and the family returned to town, living at 101 (now 221) West Monument Street. In 1852 Emily Chapman died at the age of 41, having survived three of her five children. John Gordon was left with two daughters, Susan 14, and Rebecca, not quite 10. He continued as President of the Union Bank, which held its place as the city's second in size of capital. On February 12, 1857, he was chosen by George Peabody as one of the original trustees of the Peabody Institute. Two weeks later at the Trustees' organization meeting he was elected its first Treasurer. The following year the Union Bank reached first place among Baltimore's financial institutions. But on June 28 of that year his daughter Susan died. A few of her letters survive and show her to have been delightfully mature, intelligent and most affectionate.

The grief-stricken father who had borne his earlier losses stoically, now abandoned all interest in the business world, in which he had so long been a conspicuous figure. In 1858 he took a trip to Europe, where he looked in vain for relief from his sorrows.

[6] The United States Bank of Pennsylvania. The charter of the second Bank of the United States expired March 3, 1836. The successor institution failed for the third and last time on February 4, 1841.

He sold his home on November 11, 1860, and the following year declined to run for re-election as Treasurer of the Peabody Institute. He sought recovery from his "melancholia" in South Carolina, lived near Lynchburg for several years and for some time during the late '60's and '70's in Norfolk.

During the Civil War, Rebecca Chapman Gordon, the only remaining child, lived with her childless aunt, Mrs. James S. Ryan, née Susan Fitzhugh Gordon, at 69 (later 9 West) Mount Vernon Place. When the war ended her father was living near Lynchburg in a house again called Kenmuir.

His life was then given up almost wholly to reading, especially his old favorites, the principal Greek, Latin, and French authors, with a liberal sprinkling, as in the past, of the classics of English literature and some current works. He resumed his diary which recorded the weather, events reported in the paper about his Baltimore friends, his reading, and the hum-drum events of his life. Even when General Lee took tea with him, he mentioned the fact without any comment on his illustrious visitor. He could not throw off his sorrow enough to take an interest in the world outside his daily routine.

On September 12, 1867, Rebecca was married at Grace Church, now Grace and St. Peter's, in Baltimore, to Major Eugene Blackford, C. S. A., of Lynchburg, and brought her father to live with her in the Blackford home. A spark of his interest in the "concerns" of young married people, which he recorded in his Diary in the happy days of his own early married life, now burst out. He gradually gave up his recluse-like existence. He journeyed to Baltimore to see his sister and other members of the family and his old friends. He paid many visits to the springs of Virginia. When his first grandchild was born he gave his son-in-law the means to buy a house near Baltimore. Thus "Cleve" came to be built, just west of Pikesville. He probably helped choose its name, derived from the home of Major Blackford's great-grandfather, Landon Carter, near Fredericksburg, where he had often hunted in his youth.

At Cleve, John Montgomery Gordon spent his declining years. His last link with the bustling world in which he had once been a power was his trusteeship of the Peabody Institute. This he resigned in 1874. He died on November 5, 1884, and was buried in Greenmount Cemetery next to his wife. His last ten years were

spent in the reading which had, since his childhood, proved his most cherished resource. The presence of his three grandchildren, Emily, named for his wife, Eugene, for his son-in-law, and William for his oldest brother, brought back to him the happiness of the period he had prophetically called " the sunniest part of my existence."

This is the first of several installments in which extracts from the Diary will be printed. Excluded is the lengthy Diary of a trip to Michigan in 1836. All omissions, which necessarily include words and sometimes whole sentences from torn or damaged pages, are indicated.

Readers will recognize many family names in the Diary. It has not been possible to determine which member of the family is meant in many cases. Gordon's spelling is somewhat casual at times; it is retained throughout, except for obvious slips of the pen.

The Diary of John M. Gordon

I commence this day, March 18th, 1835, . . . or note book of my daily employment . . . feelings as it will be interesting to . . . years as a record of my life and a history of my gradual transition from one stage of existence, or state of mind and character to an other. I have contemplated and have been half resolved to keep such a journal ever since the age of 16, or the period of my going to college in Connecticut, and I regret more and more every day having continually put it off from time to time till now; as I have lost forever what would have been a most valuable and interesting history of the development of my mind and character and would, in old age, have supplied the deficiencies of memory by affording a faithfull and accurate narative of the minutest events of the sunniest part of my existence. (Not the sunniest part either, for my married life thus far, alone, merits the epithet.) However, regrets are useless. I shall profit by experience and try to pursue a different course in this respect for the future. To begin, " in medias res." I rose not so early this morning as I ought (be . . . clock) I slept later from having supped on . . . last night. (Suppers always hurt me.) I found Susan and Alexr. up and breakfast ready.[7] I went after breakfast to market. At twelve I went with

[7] Susan Fitzhugh Gordon and Alexander B. Gordon (1815-1861), A. B., Yale, 1834, sister and brother of J. M. G.

Susan and Alexr. to medical college to attend commence[t].[8] I thought the novelty of the occasion would gratify her. [But we found] the building too crowded to get even in the en[trance] . . . however . . . get a peep. . . .

[I have not] decided about joining it. I don't like [being separated in the ev]ening from my wife, nor the eating [of] sup[pers], I am afraid, with my present means, of the expense. They will no doubt commence very moderately, but I believe it to be impossible to continue so, long. I meet Dr. Thornton and family at Norris's to night.[9] I like the Dr. and family very much. I stop here to go up and sit with my sister Susan who is now staying with me, my wife and child being in Ph[iladelphi]a.

In the beginning, from a total want of experience on the subject, I shall perhaps commit to writing a great many incidents which are without interest or importance and a number of thoughts which are puerile or insignificant. But I hope and intend to improve both my penmanship and style.

The day is cold and looks like snow. Yesterday was perfect spring.

19th. I feel unwell and stupid this morning and unfit for reading or any thing like study. I have been quite dispeptic for several days. I did not go to Norris' or Kennedy's last evening, being prevented by the rain and I was glad to have an excuse for staying away as I felt [grea]t uneasiness on account of my child which is s[taying with] its mother in Philadelphia, whither she went W[ednes]day last to see her Brother George off on a 3 years c[ruise].[10] My uneasiness was owing to not receiving a letter from her [to-]night from which I fear the child is ill. The day [is very] fine but I want spirits and the feelings of health [that go with] it . . . of giving offence. If I get a letter info[rming me Chapman] is better I shall enjoy it, as I am very fond of [him].

20th. I got two letters from my wife la[st evenin]g, one due the day before, informing me that the child was better and I went with a relieved mind and light heart to N. card party.[11] I was not entirely well,—however I had a very pleasant evening. His supper was one of the prettiest I have seen in Balt. I eat and drank a little more than I should have done, but do not feel the worse for it this morning. The day is very fine. I have been employed thus far in the day in reading and copying the Chapter in Starkie's evidence on murder, and I have read through the charter of M[d] in latin and the translation. (The word Maryland comes from Mariae terra and Westminster from Westmonasterium.) It is now about 2 o'clock and I shall walk down town to attend to several commissions and to get a little exercise before dinner.

22nd Sunday morning. I have just come from St. Paul's in a hard rain.[12] I sat with Dr. Alx[r]. who asked me to dine with him today. I shall

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[8] University of Maryland Medical College. See account of exercises in Baltimore *American*, March 19, 1835, p. 2, col. 3.

[9] Not identified, but clearly not Dr. William Thornton, the architect, of Washington, who died in 1828.

[10] George W. Chapman, U. S. N. (d. 1853).

[11] Probably Norris'.

[12] Old St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

do so if Dangerfield should refuse my invitation to dine with me. Yesterday I read untill 12 o'clock and then went d[owntown] with Susan. Mrs. Knox and Suitor,[13] Norris and Voss to see the chinese [woma]n.[14] I was not much pleased as we did not see her foote, the only thing worth seeing. After dinner I took Susan to see some shops. Welling[ton arr]ived in the afternoon boat from Pha.[15] We all spent the eve[ning a]t F. Voss' with Dr. Thornton's family.[16] Returned about 10½ o'clock and had a terrapin. S. and W. went this morning in the Fred[g. boa]t.[17] The day has turned out badly and I fear they may encounter a storm, it being the equinox. I got a long and very sati[sfactory letter from Emily]. She . . . and a glass of good wine. A few country friends . . . four and toop a nap on the sofa. At 6 o'c. Dangerfield came in and we had tea and I took him down to see Miss Scott and Dr. Thornton's party. I sat untill about 8½. Came home and wrote to my wife. Went to bed at 11 o'c. The wind was very high at that time and I felt a little anxious about S. and Wellingt., but hope they made Carter's Creek before it came on to blow hard. Rose at ½ past 7, went to market, looked over some accts. of costs, examined Alex[r]. for one hour on Blackstone and am now waiting for Dangerfield who dines with me today. I am not contented with the amount of my studies at present. It seems that the day gets through without my doing any thing in the way of reading. I must rise earlier and do more in the afternoon. I am dyspeptic today from wine yesterday. I was at Bank from 9 to 10. I rece[d]. a letter from my wife this morning. With what increasing pleasure do I devour every line she writes me. What a treasure is a woman's heart! 5 o'c. Dangerfield dined with me. I have been reading Hoffman's Legal outlines for an hour. They contain a good deal of learning, but are rather heavy. It is now about sun down and I am one day nearer to seeing my wife and child again. I am very . . . to have them back.

25th Wednesday. Yesterday was a fine day. I read in [the mor]ning

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[13] Mrs. Knox not identified. Mrs. James T. Soutter, née Agnes Gordon Knox, a cousin of J. M. G., being the daughter of his uncle William A. Knox.

[14] The advertisement reads in part, " Afong Moy, possesses a pleasing countenance, is nineteen years of age, and her feet, including her shoes, are but four inches in length, being of the size of those of an infant of one year old, having worn iron shoes for the first ten years of her life, according to the custom of the country. She is richly dressed in Chinese costume, and will occasionally walk before the company. Acong, her companion and interpreter, is a youth of pleasing address, writes in the Chinese characters, speaks English with considerable fluency, and will interpret for the company. He will also write the names of the company in Chinese characters, on handsome embossed porcelain cards, for 12½ cents each—being a perquisite [*sic*] for himself." From Baltimore *American*, March 20, 1835, p. 3, col. 4. The admission price was 50 cents, 12½ cents for children.

[15] Wellington Gordon (1812-1888), A. B., Yale, 1831, A. M., 1869, brother of J. M. G.

[16] Benjamin Franklin Voss, cousin of J. M. G., being a son of his aunt, Jessie Somerville Knox.

[17] The newspapers and directories give scheduled sailings and service available. Steam packets left for Fredericksburg on Wednesdays and Saturdays at 4. (*Director, op. cit.*, p. 23) Daily service to and from Philadelphia was available. (*American*, March 26, 1835, p. 1, col. 3.)

Hoffman's L. outlines. Examined Alex^r. for a couple of [hours at ho]me, then took a short walk. Dined at 4 alone with . . . . In afternoon walked towards fair mount to see a balloon [ascen]sion.[18] In the evening wrote to my wife and read [unt]il after 9. Smoked a cigar and went . . . morning . . . spring . . . short walk . . . the infant Wistar. I shall go and become a me[mber of the Wistar. I like] the plan. I am now very anxious to have my wife [home] and count the hours she will be still away. I am not at all contented with my present amount of studies. I don't bring my mind to bear with the power I exerted when a student at N. Haven, and I am conscious of wasting a good portion of the day. Nor am I mastering what I do read as completely as I should. Would to heaven I was chin deep in the practice even though it brought me nothing in. I am afraid of the timidity which I feel stealing on me like a depressing incubus and I am apprehensive that it may be a part of my constitution now that I have passed the period of adolescence. I suffer too from that horrid dyspepsia. But for that I may blame my own imprudence. A strict diet and a quantum sufficit of exercise would make me hale and hearty in six months. The day continues very fine.

26th Thursday afternoon. The weather has been fine this morning and is clouding up this afternoon. This I regret, as a bad day will prevent my wife's return tomorrow. I spent last evening at Pennington's with the Wistar and was much gratified. I like the members and the style of refreshment. I shall be happy to become a member myself but have not been applied to directly to do so, any farther than an invitation to them thus far may be taken for a proposition. I returned at 10, smoked a segar and slept tolerably well. Was roused once by a cry of fire. This morning rose at ½ past 7. Went to market, took breakfast, thence to the Bank for one hour, read part of the morning, examined Alx^r. for . . . hours on Blackstone, which I consider a part of my re[creation]. Took a short walk and dined at ½ past 3. I am now [hoping to receive a] letter fr[om my] wife, that I may know [when to expect her]. . . .

. . . Saturday afternoon. I passed yesterday as usual, reading and examining Alex^r. in the morning. Afternoon wrote a letter to Agnes presenting her with Mrs. Chapone's letters. Also wrote to my brother Bazil thanking him for his hams. Walked in the afternoon and rece^d. a very sweet letter from my wife, who writes that she will certainly be down to day. It is now 3 o'clock. The weather has been delightfull all the morning and I am most impatient of her coming. Got a letter this morning from my father to execute a few commissions which I have done in part.

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[18] See advertisement with illustration in the *American*, March 18, 1835, p. 3, col. 3. The ascension was to be made from "Fair Mount Garden" at four in the afternoon. A parachute with a rabbit was to be dropped from the "car" attached to the balloon. A "band of music" was to help entertain. Tickets were fifty cents.

The "fair mount" was the famous recreation center of the day. The Fairmount Building stood on the block now enclosed by Broadway, Fairmount, Ann, and Fayette. A painting of this balloon ascension by Nicolino Calyo is reproduced in an exhibition catalog of the Baltimore Museum of Art, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1945), No. 110.

I wish the boat had come in! And the pleasure of meeting was on the point of fruition. I have felt very dyspeptic for the last 3 days though I have been careful in my diet. My spirits, however, have been good. I did no reading this morning. I am afraid I am getting into lazy habits. I was awake by light and rose before 7. Took quite a walk before breakfast.

March 31st. Tuesday morning 8 o'clock. My wife arrived last Saturday evening with her mother. The Dr. was detained by a patient.

Sunday was a bad day. I however went to church. Monday, a fine day. Went to Bank in morning and passed several hours in court. Afternoon went to Bank to count cash as one of the committee for the quarter. Spent last evening at home. Lanman called in for a couple of hours. This morning rose early and went to market, bought a fine rock fish for Dr. C's dinner who comes down in boat today. Shall pass most of morning in court.

April 2nd Thursday morning. Dr. Chapman [and] . . . C came down on Tuesday . . . with Mrs., Dr. . . . was a fine . . . Wistar. . . .

April 3rd. Friday morning. Cloudy, damp, rainy day. R[ead durin]g morning. Dined at 3. Took a long walk with Emily in afternoon. Stopt an hour on our return with Mrs. Donalson. Read till bed time. Rose early. Took a walk. Answered Wellington's letter. Read in the morning Vattel, and examined Alexr.

Monday morning April 6th. Saturday spent as usual. Sunday was a rainy day and having bad cold in the chest (which is quite a new thing to me), I staid at home and read and slept. Rose this morning at 7 o'clock and took a short walk. Go to the bank at 9. Day cloudy and damp. Wrote Mrs. Alexr. Gordon yesterday.[19]

April 7th. Tuesday morning. Yesterday kept in the house all day from bad cold. Read and retired early. Rose at 7. Read since and as the day is very fine shall walk out. Expect Mrs. Chapman tomorrow or next day.

April 9th. Yesterday spent as usual till dinner. Paid a few visits with Emily. My old college friend Harris dined with me.[20] Had a pleasant talk. Spent the evening at R. Gilmore's wistar.[21] Was awoke about 2 by a fire in Calvert Street. Rose this morning ½ past 7. Went to Bank. Read. Examined Alexr. and walked untill ½ past two. Mrs. Chapman returned to day to dinner. Fine day. Got a very nice letter from Agnes.

April 10th. Friday morning. Rose at 8 O'clock. Have read, copied, and examined Alexr. till ½ past two. Dr. Fitzhugh of N. Y. called in this morning.[22] He comes to take tea this evening. Fine day. I find my office damp and think it will be safer for me to move into the front parlour. I shewed Dr. Fitzhugh the manuscript relating to the Fitzhugh family and had a conversation with him about it. He informs [me] that he has at home a larger work of the same kind [nearly] identical and a few letters between Henry the . . . England . . . family . . . history. . . .

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[19] Susan F. Gordon, sister of J. M. G., who married first her cousin, Alexander Gordon (d. 1832), of Fredericksburg, and secondly James S. Ryan.

[20] Benjamin G. Harris, of Leonardtown, a non-graduate of the Class of 1829 at Yale.

[21] Robert Gilmor, Jr. (1808-1875).

[22] Probably of a branch of the Virginia family, a member of which was one of the founders of Rochester, N. Y.

He thinks it passed into some of the female branches and was lost. He promised me copies of the letters from Henry. He has likewise at Bedford four pictures of the early ancestors and one of the *first* settler, all copies. Has no *plate* and knows of none.

Saturday April 12th.[23] yesterday afternoon took a walk with Emily to Mr. Oliver's county seat.[24] Fitzhugh took tea with me and left early for theatre.[25] Spent the evening very pleasantly at Colⁿ. Moore's with a few very agreeable married people. Staid until 11. Rose this morning at 6. Went to market and have read Vattel until 10.

Monday April 13th. Yesterday went to church. In the afternoon took a walk and made several visits. To day damp. Went to Bank at nine. Thence to court. Took a walk to fair mount in afternoon and finished reading Kennedy's Swallow Barn in the evening.[26]

Tuesday 14 April. Rose at 8. Breakfast and went to market. Shall go to court and read untill dinner. Fine day. Rather windy. Spent evening at home reading Swift.

Wednesday 15th April. Rose at 7. Fine day. Spent the morning in court, reading Vattel and examining Alexr. Dined at Caton's at 4½.[27]

Thursday 16th. April. Dined at Caton's yesterday. Had a very pleasant dinner. Some dozen persons present. Spent evening at Howard [28] Wistar. Came home in a *snow storm*. It continued mixed with rain all night, but the day being warm it ran off by 12 o'clock. This morning read and passed a couple [hours in] court.

Saturday April 18th. Dr. Chapman arrived this morning from Norfolk. Fine day. Read and attended court till 12 o'clock and walked with him making calls until 2. Dined at 4. Afternoon walked with Nicholas and played whist in the evening untill 11 o'clock.[29]

Sunday 19th. Rained. Went to church. Dined at home and spent evening reading.

Monday April 20th. Rose at 8. Damp day. Went to bank at 9 o'clock. Read until 12. Walked untill 2 with Dr. Chapman. Dined at Jno. Hoffman's at 4 with a very pleasant party of some 10 gentlemen. Spent the evening at Mrs. Gilmore's.

Tuesday April 21st. Rose at ½ past 5 to see Dr. Chapman off. Read and attended court untill one. Walked out with Mrs. G. till dinner. Fine day. Afternoon took a siesta and walk. Passed evening at home reading.

Wednesday April 22nd. Rose at 6½. Read and attended court untill two. Afternoon, walked. Read in the evening until 10 Dugald Stewart.

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[23] Actually April 11. Gordon has misdated other entries.

[24] Robert Oliver's country home, "Greenmount."

[25] Junius Brutus Booth played the lead in "Othello" at the Holliday Street Theater that evening. Curtain time was 7:00. A Farce, "The Spoiled Child," concluded the evening's entertainment. See *American*, April 11, 1835, p. 3, col. 4.

[26] John P. Kennedy's novel, *Swallow Barn*, which had been published three years earlier.

[27] Richard Caton (1763-1845).

[28] Probably Charles Howard (1802-1869), youngest son of John Eager Howard.

[29] Certainly Spear Nicholas, Baltimore lawyer of Virginia ancestry.

Thursday April 23rd. Rose at 7½. Fine day. Went to Bank at 9. Remained in court untill 2½. Afternoon read and walked. Read at night untill 11 o'clock.

Friday April 24th. Rose at 7½. Fine morning, cool. Golder begins to paper the large parlour to day. Spent the morning and afternoon in court (trial for murder). Was much pleased with Walsh's speech.[30] Passed the evening at home.

Saturday April 25th. Rose at 7. Went to market. Met my old friend . . . on the street. Asked him to dinner. . . .

Monday April 27th. . . . fires still . . . We are . . . and I to Lurman's to dinner on Thursday. The day continues damp and disagreeable. Spent the evening at home as usual reading.

Tuesday April 28th. Rose at 8. Fine day. Cool. Rained violently all night. Spent the evening at Mrs. Brook's.

Wednesday April 29th. Rose early. Passed the morning as usual. Went to the Wistar last night at Brook's.

Thursday April 30. Rose at 7. Damp day. Spent the evening at Mrs. Brown's. Dined at Lurman's with some dozen married men.

Friday. Rose at 7. Got into my new office to day. Am charmed with it. The only objection, if any, is that it is too nice. Spent the day as usual. George Biddle dined with us. Read Fanny Kemble's book until 10.

Saturday May 2nd. Rose at 7. Delightfull day. This is Chapman's birth day [of the month] being nine months. Spent the day as usual.

Sunday May 3rd. Rose at 7. Read untill 11. Went to Catholic Church. Spent the evening reading Mrs. Butler's Book.[31]

Monday May 4th. Rose at 7. Went to Bank at 8. Read and attended court during morning. Read after dinner. Walked. Examined Alxr. Go to Donnall's to night to meet the Willys of Pha.

Tuesday May 5th. Rose at 7½. Spent last night at Donnall's,—very agreeable party. Came away at 11. Dined at Pennington dinner to Mrs. Howland, pleasant party. Got home at 8.

Wednesday May 6th. Rose at 7. Walked in morning. . . . Read an hour or two and commenced copying the lectures of Judge Dorsey.[32] After dinner read, examined Alxr. and walked with Emily. Read until bed time. Finished Fanny Butler's Book, which I liked mainly. It is a work which raises her in my estimation and I have no doubt will in the public's too, notwithstanding the present cry against it. Her remarks on the society of this country I entirely concur in. It is a tedious book however and might have been cut down to half the dimensions.

Friday May 8th. Rose at 7½. Rainy morning. Made a few notes in journal. Read until dinner. Occupied myself in arranging things about the

[30] Thomas Y. Walsh, who with Franklin Anderson defended William Adams when on trial in Federal District Court for the murder of Captain Tilden of the Brig *Susan* of Baltimore. Adams was convicted. See Baltimore *Gazette*, April 25, 1835, p. 2, col. 3.

[31] Fanny Kemble's *Journal* (Philadelphia, 1835).

[32] Probably Clement Dorsey (1774-1848), of Howard County, who was Judge of the Fifth Maryland Circuit after six years in the U. S. House of Representatives.

house until tea. Read a criticism on Hamlet and his German criticks until 10. Went to bed at that hour.

Saturday 9th. Rose at 8½. I am becoming very lazy and, I fear, dyspeptic too. I have been gradually giving up my walks for a few months, and am beginning now to feel the bad effects of it. The day is damp.

Sunday May 10th. Rose early. Anna, child's nurse left us to day, having become too intolerable for us to keep her. Did not go to church to day. Read until dinner. In the morning met at the post office an old college acquaintance, Mr. Hand of Georgia,[33] and walked him out to the rail road spring. Afternoon smoked a cigar and lounged. In evening read untill bed time.

Monday May 11th. Rose at the usual hour. Went to Bank at 8. Thence to market. (I must get back to my old habit of going there before breakfast.) Attended court and examined Alxr. until dinner. Bought a share in the Balt[imore] . . . for one year . . . Latrobe . . . their mach[ine] . . . of that company must be greater than even I have hitherto thought it. Read to Emily until bed time from Littel's Museum.[34] Retired at 11.

Tuesday May 12th. Rose at 7. Went to office, breakfasted and brought up journal for last three days. I have finished Latrobe's Justice [35] and am at a loss what next to begin.

Wednesday May 12th. Yesterday morning read, copied J. Dorsey's lectures and idled an hour in court. After dinner read Walsh's appeal and walked with Emily beyond Winchester. I have never seen the spring more exquisitely soft and luxuriant. I admire nature the more at every renewal. What would I not give for such a residence as Bolton. We talked about life in the country and the beauties of vegitation. Last night read Walsh's appeal until bedtime. It amuses me much. Emily wrote to invite Sally Waln [36] to accompany us to Va. I hope she may come. Rose this morning at 6½ (a little earlier than usual). Went to market. I am having a venetian put up in the passage, which will be a great convenience when finished. Landman informed me yesterday that he had written a book on Law! How astounding.

Fridy., May 14th, 1835. Yesterday rose later than usual. Went to Bank before breakfast. The subject of Evan's Bond as Loan officer of the State came, had the moral courage to refuse to sign it.[37] All the members present signed. How melancholy a sight to see old men of experience doing an act of which their sober judgment disapproves merely from the want of courage to refuse. Bazil Gordon [38] and Dr. Thornton arrived on

[33] George E. Hand, A. B., Yale, 1829, originally of Madison, Conn.

[34] *Littell's Saturday Magazine* and *Littell's Spirit of the Magazines and Annuals* were published in Philadelphia 1836-1837 and 1838-1840 respectively. No record has been found of the *Museum*.

[35] John H. B. Latrobe's *The Justices' Practice under the Laws of Maryland* . . . (Baltimore, 1826). Several other editions were published over a period of more than 60 years.

[36] A Philadelphia friend of the Chapmans.

[37] Hugh W. Evan (d. 1863), then president of the Union Bank of Maryland.

[38] Basil B. Gordon (1816-1846), cousin of J. M. G., being a son of his aunt, Anne Campbell Knox.

Wednesday night and . . . the next day for . . . Fanny Kemble has been caricatured in N. York. What a reflection upon the taste, gallantry and good sense of the inhabitants, that such a mode of treating a female should not only be tolerated, but even approved. Her book will do them much good notwithstanding. She tells so many truths. " Fas est ab hoste doceri." We dine at George Williamson's tomorrow.

Saturday May 15th. Dined yesterday at Williamson's. Dinner for Mrs. Howland, very expensive, great display of plate, quite pleasant. Came home at ½ past 9. Drank very little wine. Rose at 7½. Went to market. H. W. Evan's brother hung himself yesterday.

Sunday May 16th. Yesterday morning lounged until 1. Examined Alxr. and then walked out with Emily to pay several visits. Afternoon Josephine Carter slept in. Went with her and E. to call on Mrs. Marshall. In the evening F. Voss and wife and R. V. came in.[39] We played whist until 10. Rose this morning at 9. Went to cathedral at 11. Slept in the afternoon and read Shakespeare and Walsh's appeal at night.

Monday May 17. Rose at 7. Fine day. Summer is fast approaching. Go to bank this morning. Feel a little delicacy still from having declined signing Evan's bond. I am much pleased, however, with my own firmness and hope that my refusal in that instance will give me sufficient confidence in myself to pursue the course my judgment dictates on all future occasions of the like kind. I have felt quite dispeptic during the last week, but am bright and light today. I must eat less. Passed the morning as usual. Made some calls with Emily. Walked after dinner and read at night Walsh's appeal. Went to bed about 10.

Tuesday May 18. Rose at 6½. Went to market. Feel all the . . . metaphysicks part of the morning and copied Dorsey for an hour or two. Took a nap and walk in afternoon. Retired to bed at 10½.

Wednesday May 20th. Rose at 7. Walked to Howard park.[40] Hot summer day. The Van Buren Convention meets to day.[41] The races began yesterday.

Thursday May 21st. Wrote off a deed in the morning. Paid a morning visit to Mrs. Gill, the bride, and sat an hour in the Van Buren Convention.[41] There are about 500 members, 150 from Maryland an opposition state! I find in the Va. delegation, several acquaintances. Afternoon read and lounged. Read Shakespeare at night (Henry IV).

Friday May 22, 1835. Rose at 7½. Cloudy and cool to day. Rained last night. Wrote to my father last evening about the meeting of the Stockholders of the Union Bank on the subject of the act for Extension of the charter. Read and copied until 12 and then went down to Van Buren Convention. Remained there until 2½. Was very much amused with the speeches of some of the members and gratified particularly with an eulogy

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[39] Benjamin Franklin Voss; and Robert S. Voss, brother of B. F. Voss and a director of the Union Bank of Maryland.

[40] John Eager Howard's estate, Belvedere.

[41] The " Presidential Convention " assembled in the Fourth Presbyterian Church in Holliday Street. See *American*, May 21, 1835, p. 2, col. 1, and subsequent issues.

on Mr. Johnson by a member from Kentucky.[42] The Va. delegation seem to be very inferior in every respect and are disposed to bolt from the nomination of Johnson. The vote was given unanimously for Van Buren, as President. *Peter K. Daniel* gave in the vote on the part of Va. Shade of the immortal Washington. O Virginia would that the waters of thy Chesapeake could wash this foul stain from thy character. I go down again at 6 in expectation of fine fun, now that they are at loggerheads. There will be some good sparring. The Va's will be found true. . . . The speaker Stevenson [43] is a . . . of solemn . . . Randolph's . . . parva . . . sapientia regitur mundus! The flash of honest indignation and the blush of national pride, makes my blood fairly tingle when I stand as a looker on at this solemn farce and see the coarse mechanism of the miserable body which arrogates the right to direct the choice of one million of freemen.

Saturday May 23rd 1835. Rose at 7. Delightful day. Moderate temperature. Read, attended court and examined Alexr. During afternoon read and walked with Emily to select some presents for Alxr. for the grandchildren. Called at Page's on Bernard Carter. Alxr. leaves here tomorrow for Fredg. in the boat. We shall follow via Washington in about a week after. How I long to see the Old Dominion again and once more with feelings of ever growing attachment tread the familiar scenes of my boyhood,—the site of the old church still hallowed with many a wild conceit of childish superstition,—the neighboring wood which I have bounded through by day break in my morning round to my snares,—the rocks and little islets in the river where I have whiled away so many happy Saturdays with my angling rod, and the clear, babbling springs at whose waters I have drunk health and inspiration, peopling their fountains with the beautiful creatures that first unfolded themselves to my imagining in the pages of Ovid and Virgil. O Rus quando aspiciam te!

[42] Robert M. Johnson (1781-1850), Vice President of the United States, 1837-1841.

[43] Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, former Speaker of the House of Representatives and soon to be Minister to Great Britain.

THE TRIBULATIONS OF A MUSEUM DIRECTOR IN THE 1820's

By Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr.

WHEN Rubens Peale came to Baltimore in May, 1822, to assume the proprietorship of "Peale's Baltimore Museum and Gallery of the Fine Arts" from his elder brother Rembrandt, he was taking a bold step which he hoped would lead to fame and fortune, especially the latter. Rembrandt had expected the same results when he built the museum in 1814 but eight years of disillusioning experience had convinced him that his old trade of portraiture was better suited to his temperament, and he was glad to let brother Rubens try his hand. The short and not very successful tenure of Rubens Peale at the Baltimore museum was nevertheless the most lively period of its existence, and through a group of recently discovered letters from him to his younger brother Franklin Peale we are given a frank and intimate glimpse of the trials and tribulations of a museum director in the 1820's. Rubens might well be called the "first professional museum director" in this country—the modern professional will sympathize with his troubles which were in many respects different from those of a modern museum but at the same time curiously similar in nature.[1]

Rubens' claim as the "first professional museum director" stems from the fact that from childhood he suffered with poor eyesight. The numerous children of Charles Willson Peale grew up in the atmosphere of the painting studio and were given lessons from babyhood, boys and girls alike. But it was soon evident that Rubens' affliction would not permit him to follow the family tradition, and he applied himself to his father's other great interest, the Philadelphia Peale's Museum. Rubens made

[1] The letters from Rubens to Franklin Peale run from May 8th, 1822 to August 24, 1824. They are in the collection of the American Philosophical Society and are published here, for the first time, with their kind permission. The letterbooks of Charles Willson Peale from the same institution have also been used. Hereafter APS.

a special study of botany, became an expert taxidermist, and by 1805 was his father's chief assistant. In 1810 old Charles Willson Peale retired, leaving Rubens in full charge of the museum. He was then only twenty-six years old, but unquestionably the best trained man for the job and interested in no other career.

Rembrandt's excursion into the museum business was a result of his discouragement at the portrait painter's trade. In 1812 he made the sudden decision to abandon art and take over the Philadelphia museum, but Rubens objected to sharing the profits and he was upheld by father Peale who felt besides that Rembrandt's future was as an artist. His Philadelphia plans upset, Rembrandt rushed to Baltimore, built his own museum and opened it to the public in August of 1814. Unfortunately, he was neither a good business man nor a clever showman, and the heavy mortgage and other debts he had contracted in order to establish the museum became a suffocating burden. Meanwhile, by 1822 the affairs of the Philadelphia museum were in poor shape and Charles Willson Peale felt obliged to come out of retirement and take personal command again. Rubens was faced with a subordinate position and a smaller share of the profits in Philadelphia—Rembrandt was disgusted with the Baltimore situation and offered it to Rubens—and Rubens took it, moving to Baltimore in May with his wife Eliza and their year-old boy.

The arrangement with Rembrandt was quite informal. Rubens agreed to pay the mortgage interest and other fixed charges, maintain and improve the collection, support himself and family in a modest way out of the income, and eventually buy the museum from his brother. At least, this seems to be the sense of the agreement although we have no written evidence. In 1821 the income of the museum had been $3,385, the necessary operating expenses came to about $2,500, and Rembrandt estimated that $1,000 a year was needed for improvements and expansion of the collection. It was up to Rubens to improve the income, and he set about it with great vigor and imagination.[2]

Immediately Rubens set about adding some " modern " museum attractions. He contracted with Isaiah Lukens, a gifted amateur mechanic of Philadelphia, to make a model of Charles Readhefer's

[2] Peale's Museum Account Book, Maryland Historical Society, gives a full record of the income and expenditures, although not in the detail which we would like.

" perpetual motion machine " which had created quite a stir in Pennsylvania in 1813 and was new to Baltimore. He ordered " magic Lanthorn " slides, " a balloon, glass figures, Tumbling Man &c " saying " They will be very exceptable [*sic*] here[,] my apparatus is still very small and I have been engaged ever since my arrival in the large operations, so that small articles have been deferred." He dickered with one John Butterworth for a collection of stuffed birds from England, asked brother Franklin for the exact measurements of the " Profile Machine " for making outline drawings of visitors' heads so they could be silhouetted or colored, and " purchased two living wolves at 20 dollars." [3] There were some immediate aggravations, too. " I had the misfortune to have the globe of the [orrery] broke last week by the white washer. And yesterday to [lose] the wild cat [.] I expect his situation was [too] warm, for on skinning him I found that it was very fat." [4]

An expanded program of instruction and entertainment was begun. Rubens was surprised to learn that the Philadelphia museum would close during the summer months, for he intended to keep open. " I commenced last evening with a small band of music, and expect to continue it every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, the evenings that I exhibit the magic Lantern[.] The other 3 evenings are devoted to other branches of Natural Philosophy," he wrote to Franklin.[5] The demonstrations in " Natural Philosophy " were intended to be educational and covered in a popular fashion some of the principles of electricity, chemistry, physics, and in particular the nature of illuminating gas. The electrical experiments made much use of natural magnets, magnets powered by wet batteries, and static electricity machines which not only amazed the audiences but were also offered freely for medical treatments " at the visitor's risk." The experiments in physics were equally simple. With an air pump he could exhaust a glass tube and show " the Guinea & Feather Expt." or that a coin and a feather would fall at the same rate of speed in a vacuum. By using mercury as a concealed weight he could demonstrate the " Chinese Tumblers " apparently walking down steps of their own volition. Hydrogen gas was the source of many wonders.

[3] Rubens to Franklin Peale, June 25, 1822, APS.
[4] Rubens to Franklin Peale, June 11, 1822, APS.
[5] July 9, 1822, APS.

Rembrandt had first "illuminated" the museum in 1816 with this gas and had gone on to form the Baltimore Gas Company with several businessmen. Although he had been bitterly disappointed in his expectations of profit from this venture and had been forced to withdraw from the company in 1820, the museum continued to be one of the very few Baltimore buildings which was lighted by gas. The equipment was in poor shape when Rubens took over, part being rusted and the rest needing paint. Moreover, Rubens complained to Franklin, the gas holders were in the lobby and the water in them was likely to freeze in cold weather.[6] He wanted to do more with the gas than Rembrandt had, particularly to make a very hot flame for melting silver and iron but his equipment was unequal to the task. In chemistry there were a number of stock experiments using ammonia gas, silver nitrate, sulphuric acid and the like, and the brothers exchanged the latest formulas with each other.

All of these "experiments" were really no more than demonstrations poorly related to the principles of science, and the real scholars of the day were beyond such spectacular but inconsequential displays. But this was what the public wanted, and very few of them had the faintest notion of the important developments which were going on. Rubens was a publicist, not a scientist, and yet his educational shows may be compared favorably with those of many travelling lecturers of today if allowance is made for the increase in knowledge since that time. His audience was no less mystified at the wonders of magnetism, than a modern audience is when faced with atomic energy. In any case, his intent was serious and there was no other place in Baltimore where the layman could view these marvels; it was not his fault that his grasp of science was shallow.

The summer wore on and attendance was meagre. He wrote to Franklin, "These last 3 days have been very close and sultry, scarcely anybody moving," and besides the weather, "the Williams are playing at the Pavillion [*sic*] at 25 cents each visitor, giving them a play and dancing on slack and tight ropes &c &c &c."[7] He was planning for the fall's first big attraction, however, the "First Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Painting, Drawing, Engraving &c" Franklin was asked to canvass a number of

[6] August 26, 1822, APS.

[7] August 26, 1822, APS.

Philadelphia artists for their works and to pack them off to Baltimore as soon as possible. He said that he already had works by father Peale but he wanted some of Uncle James' landscapes and " I think they will sell." Sarah and Anna Claypoole Peale's works were expected, " with them," for the girls were to come down on a visit. Younger brother Titian should send something, and going beyond the family, William Birch should be approached for landscapes, and he needed more things by Thomas Sully. Would Franklin ask William McMurtry, Mr. Bridland, Mr. Doughty, Miss Shipkey, and Mr. Seamore for paintings? Sully might know of some others, too, but the catalogue must go to the printer very soon and dispatch was necessary.[8]

The exhibition, the first of its kind in Baltimore, opened on October 1 and continued for six weeks. It was commended by the *Baltimore American* as having " much to admire—much to claim the attention of the stranger and the citizen as well," and there followed a rather long critique of the show.[9] There were to be three more of these annual exhibitions, all very popular and well reviewed. In 1823 the *American* was lavish with praise, saying " The good taste of both citizens and strangers will, of course, induce them to visit an exhibition so well worthy of their attention and patronage, and so creditable to the character of Baltimore," and it was pointed out that through such exhibitions the taste of the city would be cultivated and " native genius " incited to create great art.[10] Whether the annual exhibitions had any effect on the taste of Baltimore or not, Rubens Peale deserves credit for sponsoring the first public art program in the city. And, incidentally, he made money out of it and sold paintings.

The winter of 1822 brought on new problems. In December he wrote to his father, " The cold week was a scene of distress amongst my live animals. The Alligator died . . . the Turtle also died. The Otter wore his feet on the brick floor until they bled, and before I was aware of it he bled to death. The Eagle broke his chain and in passing the Tiger Cat was caught by him and was instantly killed. Also a chicken which stood perpendicular faired the same fate." To prevent more tragedy, he designed a new stove for the animal room which would also help to heat

[8] September 11, 1822, APS.
[9] *Baltimore American,* November 6, 1822.
[10] *Ibid.,* October 20, 1823.

the gallery above, and he was busy working over the stuffed animal collection to prevent further moth damage.[11]

This was disheartening, but there was new competition from other amusements to add to his woes. He complained to Franklin, "Since the opening of the Circus I have been completely deserted[.] All run mad after Mr. Hunter and as soon as the genteel part quit it they have taken to the small Theatre which is quite a snug Bandbox. . . ." [12] Rubens turned to theatrical shows in self defense. In November he had offered "Mr. J. Tilly, the celebrated glass blower," who did, "surprising manipulations with hot glass" and made "Writing Pens, Swans, Doves &c." [13] Next, he engaged the "celebrated Italian Musician," Signior Hellene, who could play on six musical instruments at once. The year before Signior Hellene had been engaged for the Philadelphia museum over father Peale's protest, who thought this was undignified foolishness, but Rubens knew that he would draw attendance. In March he reported to Franklin that "Our income before Hellene arrived scarcely defrayed my expenses, but now it is doing much better. . . . He gives very general satisfaction to my visitors." On the 18th and 19th of March Rubens had the good fortune to have a troupe of Indians as his feature and he took in more in two days than in some recent months.[14]

In April the museum was honored by a visit from the aged Charles Willson Peale, who gave a lecture on natural history to a large audience. Unfortunately he brought disquieting news which ruined whatever pleasure Rubens may have enjoyed from the presence of his father. Father Peale read him extracts from a letter to Rembrandt from Henry Robinson, who was the chief stockholder in the museum. Rubens must have been thunderstruck to learn in this backhand manner that "Something is wanted to give spirit to the museum. . . . Neither ground rent or dividends has been paid since Rubens has had it. . . . Robt. Gilmor (who owns a few shares) has hinted to me that it would be best to take it out of Rubens hands—and Mr. McKim [owner of the ground] says that he must sell for the ground rent. . . ." On his return to Philadelphia, the father suggested that perhaps Eliza

[11] Rubens to Charles Willson Peale, December 8, 1822, APS.
[12] December 12, 1822, APS.
[13] Baltimore *American*, November 11, 1822.
[14] March 21, 1823, APS.

would consider selling some property she owned so that Rubens and his wife could jointly purchase the museum free and clear, and he warned his son that something would have to be done quickly.[15]

For the time being Rubens plugged away at his job, and added some new attractions. In August he was planning for the second Annual Exhibition and also trying to make a bargain with a "Frenchman" for "a very fine Lyon, two Leopards, and a Bull which is only two feet six inches high," but they were too expensive and the deal was not completed.[16] The letters to Franklin Peale are interrupted at this point for nearly a year, but newspaper advertisements show that he was as busy as ever. Sarah M. Peale, his cousin, was now living in his household and using the third floor rooms at the museum as a portrait studio. More animals were added to the live collection, there were astronomical demonstrations by Mr. Newell and a lecture by Joseph Lancaster, the inventor of the monitorial system of education. Spring brought Rembrandt back to Baltimore to show his "National Portrait and Standard Likeness of Washington," the so-called "porthole portrait" which was now his chief stock-in-trade. If anything, the museum seemed more lively than before.

But in August of 1824 Rubens suddenly came to the conclusion that the Baltimore museum was a hopeless undertaking. He had learned that Joseph Delaplaine's gallery of paintings and curiosities in Philadelphia was for sale; Rubens decided to buy it and take it to New York, leaving Baltimore for good. He wrote to Rembrandt, "I have deliberately reflected on the subject and I find that I ought in justice to myself and family give up the museum entirely."[17] Without wasting any further time, he wrote to Franklin and asked him to attend to packing the Delaplaine collection and send it on to New York, and remarked sadly, "the only thing that I am sorry for, is, that I am under the necessity of abandoning an institution that I had pride in and throwing not only myself into difficulties, but also Rembrandt . . . if any prospect existed of at any moderate period of time to get it out of debt, I would have been pleased to continue my exertions here,

[15] Charles Willson Peale to Rubens, April 24, 1823, Letterbook XIV, page 236, APS.

[16] Rubens to Franklin Peale, August 4, 1823 APS.

[17] Rubens to Rembrandt Peale, August 18, 1824, APS.

but unfortunately there is none." [18] This ends the exchange of letters which began so optimistically only twenty-seven months before.

However, it was not yet the end of Rubens' connection with the Baltimore museum. The Delaplaine collection was set up in New York as he had planned, and Eliza and the children established there, but the Baltimore stockholders and creditors beseeched him to continue in charge of the museum. Writing to Eliza from Baltimore, Rubens reported that William Lorman had agreed to forget the arrears in interest due to him, and another person was willing to write off $150 of the back interest. "The general opinion is that I must not leave Baltimore, that all should aid and relieve the institution of its difficulties, that it might flourish and be unincumbered," but he added cynically, "The proof of the pudding is in the eating of it. I will not stay unless it is put on better terms than I took it from Rembrandt, or they compel me [which] seems too impossible to think of." [19] But accommodation was possible—an agreement was reached by which the interest on the old debts was reduced and Rubens undertook to continue to supervise the museum affairs, but through the offices of a "competent person" who would receive a salary.

The museum struggled on for five years with William Atkinson as the "competent person" in attendance, and Rubens as the absentee proprietor making frequent trips from New York to inspect its progress. The only Peale in residence was Sarah, who continued to use the third floor rooms as a portrait studio. Affairs grew steadily worse, and finally late in 1829 Rubens offered to assign his interest in the building to the stockholders if they would release him from all his obligations to them. This offer was promptly accepted and a few months later the building was sold to the city government for use as the City Hall. Thus ended the tale of Peale's Baltimore Museum and Gallery of the Fine Arts.

Why did the museum fail? Rembrandt complained that his unfortunate venture in the Baltimore Gas Company had prevented him from giving the close attention to the museum which it required, and that the architect, Robert Cary Long, Sr., had spent $14,000 on the building instead of the $5,000 which he had

[18] Rubens to Franklin Peale, August 24, 1824, APS.
[19] Rubens to Eliza Peale, September 5, 1824, APS.

expected. He thought that the stockholders had been unduly harsh on Rubens, and on the other hand, Rubens should not have divided his time between New York and Baltimore in the later years. In any case he said, " It is not to the credit of Baltimore that the liberal views and purposes of science should be sacrificed by the sordid calculations of shortsighted commercial avarice." [20] These were only details, not the real cause for the failure. The New York museum failed in 1837, the Philadelphia museum in 1845, and the only survivors among " museums " were those typified by the famous Barnum's Museum in New York. The Peales envisioned the museum as an educational institution but they had to operate it like a business and with very slender capital resourses. In the first half of the 19th century the number of educated and cultured people in America was very small, there was little leisure time for most, and no tradition of supporting cultural and educational activities with public funds. In order to make a living, the Peales were forced to offer popular entertainment, but in this field they could not compete with the slick humbuggery of a Phineas T. Barnum and instead lost the sympathy of the people of learning and taste. The Peales were far ahead of their times as educators—the idea of free public education on the grammar school level was new and controversial in the 1820s and the extension of the principle to secondary schools, colleges, or public museums was no more than a wild dream. Rubens Peale did the best he could with the Baltimore museum under these circumstances, and he deserves our admiration for his struggle.

[20] Rembrandt to Charles F. Mayer, October 12, 1830, in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXVI (1931), 133-135.

REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE

PART III

Edited by Helen Lee Peabody

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, No. 2, June, 1954, p. 142)

Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Sim Lee [1]
(Virginia State Library)

Richmond January the 15th 1781

Sir

I received some time ago from Majr. Forsyth [2] and afterward from the Board of War a requisition to furnish one half the supplies of Provision for the Convention Troops removed into your State. I should sooner have done myself the honor of writing to your Excellency on this Subject but that I hoped to have had it laid before you more fully than could be done in writing by a Gentleman who was to have passed on other public business by the way of Annapolis. The late events in this State having retarded his setting out I think it my duty no longer to postpone explanation on this head.

Your Excellency cannot be unapprised of the powerful armies of our enemies at this time in this and the southern States, and their future plan is to push their Successes in the same quarter by larger reinforcements. The forces to be opposed to these must be proportionately great, and those forces must be fed. By whom are they to be fed? Georgia and South Carolina are annihilated, at least as to us. By the requisition to us to send Provisions into your State it is to be supposed that none are to come to the Southern Army or any State north of this; for it would seem inconsistent that while we should be sending North your State and others beyond you should be sending your Provisions South. Upon N. Carolina then already exhausted by the ravages of two Armies and on this State are to depend for subsistence those bodies of men who are to oppose the greater part of the Enemy's force in the United States, the subsistence of the German and of half the British Conventioners. To take a view of this

[1] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 17-19. Not printed but noted in Boyd, *Jefferson*, IV, 371.

[2] Possibly Robert Forsyth, a major in the Virginia militia at this time.

matter on the Continental requisition of Novr. 4, 1780. for specific quotas of Provision it is observable that North Carolina and Virginia are to furnish 10,471,740 lbs. of animal food & 13,529 barrels of flour; while the States north of these will yeild 25,293,810 lbs. of animal food and 106,471 barrels of flour. If the greater part of the British Armies be employed in the South, it is to be supposed the greater part of the American force will be sent there to oppose them: But should this be the case, while the distribution of the Provisions is so very unequal would it be proper to render it still more so by withdrawing a part of our contributions to the support of Posts northward of us? it would certainly be a great convenience to us to deliver a portion of our specifics at Frederick Town rather than in Carolina: but I leave it to your Excellency to judge whether this would be consistent with the general good or safety. Instead of sending aids of any kind to the northward it seems but too certain that unless every substantial and timely assistance is received from thence our Enemies are yet far short of the ultimate term of their success. I beg leave therefore to refer to your Excellency whether the Specifics of your State as far as shall be necessary had not better be applied to the support of the Posts within it, for which your quota is much more than sufficient, or were it otherwise, whether those of the States North of you had not better be called on than to detract any thing from the resources of the Southern opposition already much too small for the encounter to which it is left. I am far from wishing to count or measure our contributions by the requisitions of Congress. Were they ever so much beyond these I should readily strain them in aid of any one of our Sister States: but while they are so far short of those Calls to which they must be pointed in the first instance, it would be great misapplication to divert them to any other purpose: and I am persuaded your Excellency will think me perfectly within the line of duty when I ask a revisal of this requisition.

(Signed) T. J.

Thomas Sim Lee to Thomas Jefferson [3]

(Virginia State Library)

Annapolis, Maryland 27th. Feby 1781

In Council

Sir

We have just received the Resolutions of Congress of the 20th. Instant, recommending it to the Executives of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, to agree upon, and settle on an Arrangement for supplying the Southern Army with Provisions, from the States most contiguous, and for replacing the same with Provisions from those that are more remote, and to establish such mode of Transportation as will be most convenient and least expensive to the whole.[4]

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[3] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 328, and in Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 16.

[4] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIX, 178.

It is our Desire, that some place in Virginia should be immediately agreed on, and assigned for Depositing the Quota of Provisions, which We are called upon to supply to the Southern Army: In establishing which, We think the mutual ease, and Convenience of both States should be adverted to, and none has occurred to Us So suitable as Alexandria; If your Excellency should concur with us in Opinion, you will have a proper Person appointed to receive at that Post, the Provisions which we will be able to forward,—Your Excellency will communicate your Sentiments on this Subject, as early as possible, and in the mean Time We shall be preparing to comply fully with the Recommendations of Congress. We are anxious to be informed of the present Situation of Virginia; many Reports have been circulating here, but none so authentic as to deserve entire confidence.

We have the honour to be
With sentiments of the highest respect and Esteem
Your Excellency's Mo. Hble servts.

Tho. S. Lee

His Excy Govr. Jefferson of
Virginia.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE [5]
(Virginia State Library)

Richmond
March 6th, 1781

Sir,

I had the Honor of receiving yesterday your Excellency's Favour of February 27th and had just before received the resolutions of Congress of February 20th. which were the Subject of the Letter.

I think that we ought not to expect any Cooperation in this Business from North Carolina and that we should be disappointed were we to expect it.

A State in the midst of which are several different armies of Foes & of Friends as destructive from necessity as Foes, which has been consumed by their ravages near a twelvemonth is not in a Condition to give but to expect assistance. It must be evident that from the Presence of our Armies in that State she must furnish more than her Quota for supplies, because she makes up the Failures of all other States; for on these Failures of supply the army will not go to take from the State failing but takes it's necessary Subsistence from that in which they are. I think then that of the States named in the resolution of Congress the object of the resolution rests truly on Delaware Maryland and Virginia and I shall be very happy to concur with them in such equal measures as will effect the intentions of Congress. I do not apprehend it was intended by your Excellency when you proposed to deposit your Quota of Specifics at Alexandria that the

[5] Printed in Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 77-78.

Burthen of Transporting it thence to North Carolina should be left on us solely, because as on the same plan we should be entitled to deliver our Quota on our Southern Boundary which would bring up our share of Burthen to an equality of yours; Were we moreover to transport your quota and that of Delaware across our Country it would be so much more than equality. I take the Liberty of mentioning this because your Excellency's proposition has been I think misunderstood in this particular. The Desire of Congress is that we should settle an arrangement for procuring supplies for the Southern Army in the States most convenient for procuring supplies from other States, and for transporting the whole. All this supposes a joint Concern. I should think therefore that it ought to be executed jointly, or if divided that the division of the whole that is of the procuring Supplies in one Place replacing them by others and transporting both should be equal, by which I mean proportioned to our abilities as rated in the Continental Scale. This may be done in several different ways: 1st. by dividing among us the Line of Transportation into such parts as when combined with the quantity to be transported along each part will produce a total duly proportioned between us: 2d by putting into the hands of a Quarter Master due Proportions of Money or means of Transportation to be by him employed in carrying on our Specifics from their respective States: 3d For each State to appoint it's own agent & to procure their quota of Specifics as near as they can to the army, replacing their money by Sale of such Specifics as might be raised within the State by Taxation. The first & second modes are liable to this objection that the Transportation will cost very considerably more than would purchase the Articles in the Vicinities of the Army.

Should these nevertheless or any other which can be thought of be more agreable to your Excellency and the President of Delaware we shall be ready at any Time to proceed to settle the arrangement or as the settlement of it by Way of Letter might draw it to a great Length, I would propose to refer it to be done by the Delegates from the respective States in Congress. Should the third mode suggested above be preferred as it would be carried into separate Execution, no Reference would be requisite.

[With sentiments of high respect & attachment,]
I have the Honor [to be, dear Sir,
[Your most obedient and most humble servant]
T[h]. J[efferson]

James McHenry, who had been one of Washington's secretaries for four years, was appointed aide to Lafayette in the Spring of 1781. His series of letters to Governor Lee, 49 in number, from the Yorktown front, form one of the most valued parts of our collection. Many of these will be quoted later. Washington appointed McHenry Secretary of War in 1796, a position he held until 1800.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE [6]
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Baltimore 3d February 1781
11 o'clock A. M.

Dear Sir,

I have a letter this instant from the Marquiss de la Fayette, in which he signifies that the detachment under his command will be at the Head of Elk this day or tomorrow at furthest; and presses sending forward the Vessels designed for their transportation, with all possible dispatch. As the shipping collected here is altogether inadequate to the purpose, and as inconveniences may attend their going in detail, I have taken the liberty to promote the Marquiss intentions, by making this communication to your Excellency; that, if there should be any shipping at Annapolis, no moments may be lost in ordering them to the Head of Elk.

I have the honor to be, etc.

James McHenry

THOMAS SIM LEE TO MORDECAI GIST [7]
(Gist MSS, Maryland Historical Society)

In Council, Annapolis Feb. 26, 1781

To the Hon. Gen. Gist.

Sir

Though we have not been favored with any authentic Intelligence of the Situation of Virginia, yet, what we obtained convinces us that very essential Services would be rendered by sending to their Succor all the Regular Soldiers in this State that can be expeditiously collected. Our wish to give every Aid to Virginia at this trying Emergency and Conclusion that very important Consequences will result from it, induces us to request you would have all the Regular Soldiers in this State assembled immediately and put in Readiness to be transported in vessels which we will order to be procured here and at Baltimore as soon as you intimate to us your Acquiescence in what we have proposed.[8]

We think some of the experienced Supernumerary Officers in this State would be very serviceable in Virginia.

We are
Sir
With Esteem
Your obed^ht^ Sernt

General Gist — Thos. S. Lee

[6] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 49-50.
[7] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 327.
[8] Gist's reply is printed in the *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 89-90.

Lafayette to Thomas Sim Lee [9]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Head of Elk, March 3d, 1781

Sir

I Have the Honor to inform your Excellency that the troops, Artillery, and Stores destined to embark under my orders are safely arrived at this place and to my Great disappointment are now detained for want of Vessels. This Affair is so important Sir, and My Last orders from His Excellency General Washington are so positive, that I am afraid the Least delay may be attended with very Bad Consequences.

Our detachment Being accompaynied By a Large Quantity of Horses and Heavy Artillery it will Require a Vast number of vessels, and from what I Hear at this place the totality of the Vessels at Annapolis and Baltimore will Be Requisite for our Embarkation. Another important Article is to collect every Armed Vessel that can Be Had for the safety of our Navigation in the Bay. A sufficiency of Boats to Land the detachment at once, and of dispatch Boats to Carry intelligence are very essential.

Was I not sensible, Sir, of the importance of this Expedition, of the Happy effect it may Have for the advantage of all the states and the more particular interest of some, I would not presume to trouble your Excellency with a minute details of our boats. But unless the afore mentioned articles are sent to this place with the Greatest dispatch, it is my duty to observe to Your Excellency that delay will Render our expedition very precarious. My uneasiness on this Head Has Been increased By a Late Letter Received from the Commander in chief, wherein he urges the necessity of Embarking immediately, and from the nature of His plan observes the Great inconvenience of delay.[10]

Having laid our circumstances before your Excellency and Having taken the liberty to observe [damaged].

Thomas Sim Lee to Lafayette [11]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

March 5, 1781

Sir,

We had the Honor of addressing you on the third Instant [12] since which we are favored with yours of the same Date. We are fully impressed with the Advantages which the States in general and Maryland in particular will derive from the Success of the Expedition which you have the Conduct of, and truly lament the Difficulties which have occurred.

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[9] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 101-102.

[10] See Washington to Lafayette, February 25 and 26, 1781, Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXI, 228-290, 295-296.

[11] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 399.

[12] Council to Lafayette, March 3, 1781, printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 337.

We however flatter ourselves the Movement of your Detachment will not be much retarded on that Score, as the wind has been so favorable for some Time past as to give a Number of Vessels impressed in this Port and Baltimore Town an opportunity of getting to the Head of Elk.

We beg leave to renew the Assurances already given that every Execution in the Power of this State shall be chearfully made to remove the Difficulties you may apprehend in transporting the Troops down the Bay.

It will give us the highest Pleasure to have any share of the Accomplishment of your Projects attributed to the Exertions of Maryland. We have prepared a Ditpatch Boat to convey your Letter to the Commanding officer near Portsmouth which will be sent off as soon as the winds will permit and have given Directions to the Master to throw it over Board if he should be in Danger of being taken.

I have the honor to be etc.

Tho. S. Lee

Frederick William, Baron von Steuben (b. in Prussia 1730, d. in New York 1794) had been aide de camp to Frederick the Great, afterwards offering his services to the American colonies and was appointed Major General in the Continental Army.

He gave military training and discipline to the citizen soldiers who achieved the independence of the United States.

LAFAYETTE TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Head of Elk March 6th 1781

Sir,

I have received your Excellency's Letter of the 5th inst., and for the assurance it contains, beg leave to offer my very respectful acknowledgements.

If in the course of tomorrow, we can get a sufficiency of Vessels, I intend to embark the Troops immediately, but upon the intelligence we receive of British Privateers in the Bay, I more than ever feel the want of an Armed force for our security.

By a Letter from Baron De Steuben, I find he was not gone with the Detachment sent to the Southward; that General Officer is now preparing matters for the expedition, and as I expect also to hear from a Naval Officer in the same quarter, I beg leave to request, that any dispatch be sent to me with the greatest rapidity.

Having been told, that there was at Baltimore a number of heavy Peices, I could not help thinking, that six of the eighteen pounders, with 300 rounds each might be of service, but from the aversion I feel to give any

useless trouble to the State, I would only propose that they be put in readiness, as upon information from below we could better determine their utility.

With the greatest respect
I have the honor to be
your most obedient
Svt.

Lafayette

His Excellency
Governor Lee

Thomas Sim Lee to Thomas Jefferson [13]
(New-York Historical Society)

Annapolis, In Council
March 7, 1781

Sir:

The Marquis Lafayette has requested this State to furnish armed Vessels for the Protection of the Transports and Troops under his Command, and destined for the Expedition against the Enemy at Portsmouth.

We have only been able to procure a Brig of fourteen fourpounders, a Schooner of eight threepounders, and a sloop loaded and bound to Sea, of ten threepounders.

From various accounts we are apprehensive this force is inferior to the Enemy's Privateers in the Bay.

We have wrote to the Commander of the Ships of our Ally at the Capes,[14] and if he cannot spare one of his Vessels to convoy the Marquis, you will see the necessity of Your State immediately procuring a force, which in conjunction with ours, would certainly be superior to the Enemies Cruisers.

The Marquis with the Troops, Cannon and Stores, are now at Head of Elk.

We have impressed and sent to him every Vessel at Baltimore, and this place, and fear they will not be sufficient.

The Marquis has requested us to procure Boats to land the Cannon and Troops, which will not be in our Power, but we hope you will be able to obtain any number he may want.

General Wayne,[15] with a second Detachment from the Pennsylvania Line, is expected at the Head of Elk, and he is to join the Marquis, as soon as Vessels can be procured to transport him to Portsmouth.

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[13] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 342, and Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 85-86.

[14] Charles Hector, Count d'Etaing, French Admiral commanding the fleet sent over by our ally, France.

[15] General Anthony Wayne, although ordered south by Washington as early as February of this year, 1781, with 1,000 men of the Pennsylvania Line, had trouble with disaffected soldiers, bordering on mutiny, and was not able to join Lafayette until June. See Wayne Papers, Phil. Casket, 1829.

We have therefore thought proper to give you this information, and at the same Time beg Leave to suggest the Propriety of your Strengthening the Convoy.

We have the honor to be
with very great Consideration
Yr. Excellency's mo. Ob^{t}. & mo. H^{ble} Servant

Thos. S. Lee

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE [16]
(Virginia State Library)

Richmond
March 12, 1781

Sir,

Your Excellency's Favor of the 7th came to Hand last night. We have been endeavoring to procure what armed vessels we could, but they are in James river, and of course cannot possibly get out of that river but under countenance of naval power superior to that of the Enemy, and indeed they are so trifling that they could not venture up the Bay, were they out of James river. From the best accounts I have received, the enemy have three ships of Force within the Bay, in addition to those Arnold had before; the French Squadron has withdrawn from the Bay some considerable Time.

We are doing our utmost to procure the boats necessary for landing the Cannon and Troops, that is, we are taking every one in James River, but they will fall very far short of what Baron Steuben deems necessary. The boats in the upper part of the river cannot navigate the lower Parts, nor can any be carried round from the other Rivers.

We feel ourselves so much interested in the Enterprize in contemplation, that we have set every Instrument into motion which can possibly avail us. Our exertions are much circumscribed by the want of means.

I have the Honor to be etc

Thomas Jefferson

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE [17]
(Virginia State Library)

In Council March 12, 1781

His Excellency Governor Lee—

Sir,

The prisoners of Convention, & those taken at the Cowpens, having been ordered, on the Approach of Lord Cornwallis, to move on to our Northern Boundary, while Congress could be consulted as to what should

[16] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 118-119, and Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 131.
[17] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 119, and Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 131-132.

be done with them, I have received a letter from the President from which the enclosed is extracted.[18]

They have, I believe, reached as far as Winchester, from which place they are now ordered to move into Kneelands Ferry, where the President in another letter informs me, your Excellency will have made Provision for subsisting them and quartering them further on.[19]

According to the Desire of Congress expressed in the President's letter, I have taken the liberty of Communicating this to your Excellency.

I have the Honour to be, with sentiments of the highest respect
Sir,

Your, etc.

T. J.

Thomas Sim Lee to Thomas Jefferson [20]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Annapolis, March 15, 1781

Sir,

The Arrival of our Express with your Excellancy's Letter of the 12th this Moment received gives us an Opportunity of informing you that all the Transports with the Troops from Elk got safe into Harbour on Tuesday Evening. The next Morning at day Light two Ships apparently British of the rate of eighteen and twenty eight Guns came to an Anchor opposite to the Mouth of our River Severn at 12 o'clock they made Sail up the Bay and by the last Account were at Anchor near the north Point of the River Patapsco we judged that you would be anxious for the Safety of the Troops but they are fortunately safe and the armed Vessels which conveyed them down are prepared for Defence.

Your Favors of the 6 and 8th are come to Hand, and we thank you for your Intelligence respecting General Greene in that of the 8th.[21]

We are, with great Personal respect &
Esteem,
your Excellency's Mo. H^le^ Ser.

Tho. S. Lee

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[18] The enclosure (not located) was extracted from Jefferson to Samuel Huntington, March 4, 1781, Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 56.

[19] See Huntington to Lee, March 4, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 105-106.

[20] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 352, and Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 150.

[21] The letter of March 6, 1781, is printed in this installment; Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 150, did not locate a letter of March 8.

Thomas Sim Lee to Thomas Jefferson [22]

(Virginia State Library)

Annapolis 17 March, 1781

Sir.

We beg leave to refer your Excellency to our Letter of yesterday, giving a Short Account of the Transport and Troops from the Head of Elk being safe in this Harbour.

We shall adopt such Measures to guard and subsist the Convention Troops and British Prisoners captured in the Action of the Cowpens on their March through this State, as may be necessary and consonent to a Resolution of Congress of the 3d instant, and such as the Means in our Power may afford.[23]

We have wrote to the President of Pennsylvania fully on the Subject of the March of these Troops.[24]

Matters remain in the same State as yesterday respecting the British Ships and the Forces here. We are extremely anxious to hear from the Marquis and the Situation of the Southern Army.

We have the Honor to be
with great Consideration
your Excellency's Mo. Obd. & Mo Hble
Serv t

Tho. S. Lee

Thomas Sim Lee to Robert Purviance, Matthew Ridley, and William Patterson [25]

(Maryland Historical Society)

In Council

Annapolis 20th March 1781

Gentlemen

We received your letter of the 10th covering the Engagement of the Gentlemen of Baltimore and an Extract of a Letter from Mr. McHenry of the 6th.[26]

We very much applaud the zeal and activity of the Gentlemen of Baltimore, and think their readiness to assist the execution at a Time when they were destitute of the means of providing those things which were immediately necessary for the Detachment under the Command of the Marquis de la Fayette justly entitles them to the thanks of the Public.

We cannot but approve of the Proceedings of those Gentlemen, and

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[22] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 355, and Boyd, *Jefferson*, V, 168-169.
[23] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIX, 229-230.
[24] Lee to Joseph Reed, March 16, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 353-354.
[25] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 358.
[26] Purviance *et al* to Lee, March 10, 1781, *ibid.*, XLVII, 115-116; the extract from McHenrys letter, *ibid.*, 116-117.

assure you we will adopt any expedient to prevent every Individual of that Body ,from suffering, or being in the least embarrassed by his engagements for the State.

As soon as we are informed by the Committee of the amount of the Sum advanced by their Constituents and the extent of their Engagement to procure the numerous articles required for the use of the Detachment we will transmit orders for the Collector of Baltimore County for such a sum as will cover the whole.

We think it reasonable the State should pay the value of money advanced and interest thereon until paid, and do agree to pay the value with interest, to those Gentlemen who have made advances, and will give an Order on the Collector of Baltimore for their reimbursement.

We are, Gentlemen, with very great respect and Esteem

Your Mo. Obent Sernt

Thos. S. Lee

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Annapolis February 18:th 1781

Sir:

Colo. Luke Marbury who Was Made Prisoner at the battle of German Town, and still remains in the hands of the Enemy, expresses the utmost anxiety & Solicitude for a speedy release, his friends too, who are respectable are no less importunate for his return; and have repeatedly desired me to apply to your Excellency to favor him should an opportunity offer for exchanging Officers of his Rank.[27] As yet I believe none have Fallen into our hands that would apply, unless it should be those Tory Colonels lately taken at King's Mountain in Carolina. The peculiar Circumstances of this Gentleman are alone sufficient to recommend him to your Excellency's attention & if there should be no impropriety in the measure I flatter myself your Excellency will instruct Major General Greene on the Subject of negociating the Desired exchange. It may not be improper to inform your Excellency that Colo Marbury with a Compentency has felt, in his present situation, the pressure of of indigence in addition to the rigour of a Close Confinement for a Considerable length of time after he was carried in Captivity & the Sufferings of his Wife & several small Children in his Absence has Contributed to increase his distresses.

With the highest personal Respect & esteem
I have the honor to be
Your Excellys Mo. Obedt.

Tho S. Lee

[27] Governor Lee wrote on this same subject to General Greene, Dec. 9, 1780, q. v.

George Washington to Thomas Sim Lee [28]
(Outerbridge Horsey Collection)

Head Quarters
New Windser [, N. Y.]
22 March, 1781.

Sir,

Your Excellency's favor of the 18th ulto. came to Head Quarters during my visit to Count de Rochambeau at Newport, from whence I only returned two days ago.

You may be assured that every attention shall be paid to the Exchange of Col. Marbury in his due turn, more than that I cannot promise without deviating from a Rule of Conduct which I myself have ever observed, and which has lately been confirmed by an order of Congress.

I have however the pleasure to learn that Col°. Marbury is admitted to parole, and as he is, I believe, the oldest Officer of his rank unexchanged, I hope his final release will ere long be accomplished.

I do not know what Officers were taken at Kings Mountain or in any part of the Southern Quarter, but should a general exchange take place, due consideration will be had to the remaining prisoners at New York.

I have the Honor to be with very great Respect and Esteem

Your Excellency's Most ob^{t} Ser^{nt}

Go. Washington

Thomas Sim Lee to George Washington
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Annapolis March 31st 1781

Sir;

Count Chalus [29] who does me the honor to bear this, gives me an opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 22^{d}. Instant. Colonel Marbury is now with his family, on parole; and if I am rightly informed without limitation as to time: in that case, I have no doubt he is perfectly satisfied with the indulgence and will wait with patience & convenience his turn for exchange.

I have the honor to be
with Sentiments of perfect
Respect and Esteem
Your Excell^{ys} Mo. Hble Serv^{t}.

Tho. S. Lee

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[28] Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXI, 353.

[29] Count Charlus de la Croix, son of the Minister of the French Navy, the Duc de Castries.

Chevalier de La Luzerne to Thomas Sim Lee [30]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Philadelphia, March 23, 1781

Sir,

I have just received the news of the arrival before long of a second Fleet, destined to co-operate with the forces of the Thirteen States, against our common enemy.

It is impossible to fix the time of its arrival on the shores of this Continent, but I presume that time will not be very far off, when you receive my letter.

I thought it my duty to share this news with Your Excellency but I beg you to make no use of it except to bolster up the courage of your fellow citizens in assuring them that they can count on the most efficacious assistance on the part of H[is]. M[ajesty]. without telling them the exact nature of the aid they will receive.

The cause of Independence cannot cease being dear to the King, and he is determined to make the greatest efforts to support it.

I have the honor to be with respectful attachment, Sir,

Your Excellency's
Very humble and very obedient servant
Chevalier de La Luzerne

Colonel Henry Lee to Thomas Sim Lee

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Dumfries, March 28th, 1781

Dear Sir,

I had the honor of your letter by Mr. Fitzbugh.[31] That gentleman's merit would of itself command my best services, but your recommendation added an obligation for my attention, which I shall consider indispensible.

Will you be pleased to inform me what time & which mode is most opportune for the settlement of the money advanced by the State of Maryland for the supply of horses to the Legion.

I beg my most profound respects to Mrs. Lee, & pray you to receive my best wishes for your health & happiness.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Excellancy's
Most Attached & Obliged
Henry Lee Jun[r].

His Excellancy Tho. S. Lee Esq.

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[30] In French; translation by H. L. P. Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 143-144.

[31] Son of Colonel William Fitzhugh, before mentioned.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Baltimore 7th April 1781

Sir,—

The money to pay for the boats etc. mentioned in the letter [32] written at the instance of the principal inhabitants of this Town is to be raised by a general subscription. Almost every one seems willing to be a contributor; and I dare say the result will be handsome provided it is carryed under the present fears of the people.

I have taken the liberty to add this private letter, because I presume the money might be applyed to a more extensive purpose, comprehending all the objects of local or particular protection.

I mean that administration has it in it's power to employ it in the purchase and outfit of the galley at this place; and, these kind of war vessels, your Excellency knows, afford the only effectual security we can expect or provide.

I believe (I may however be deceived) that a proposition or hint from your Excellency or Council on this head, could turn the money that may be collected into this channel.

Perhaps it might even be obtained as a free gift.

With the greatest regard and esteem, I have the honor to be most respectfully,

Your Excellency's
Obt. & hble Ser.

James McHenry

His Excellency
Governor Lee

(*To be continued in the December number.*)

[32] McHenry to Lee, April 7, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 167.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis. By Morris L. Radoff. Annapolis: Hall of Records, 1954. xi, 140 pp. $3.

The Maryland Hall of Records Commission is to be congratulated that at last a competent historian, Dr. Radoff, the State Archivist, has given the citizens of the state a definitive history of the public buildings erected in Annapolis since its establishment as the capital of the province. The volume opens up vistas of information hidden in the Archives and the writings of the past, and makes fascinating reading for any true Marylander.

To place his work on a definitely historical basis, Dr. Radoff has read the Archives, whether published or not, and also searched for contemporary evidence in newspapers, letters, business accounts, the descriptions by visitors to the city, and the recollections of contemporaries, all judged as to their reliability with scholarly discrimination and presented with the author's characteristic genial wit and kindly sarcasm. He has even found evidence that we can refer to the Free School, as it was originally called, as King William School, although the more familiar term, King William's School, was also, perhaps more frequently, employed.

The book teems with hitherto little-known data. For instance, the first State House is shown to have also served as the courthouse of Anne Arundel County and as the city hall of Annapolis. The second State House, begun in 1772, had a small cupola, or dome, on it until 1785, when the present more impressive and more beautiful dome was begun, to be finished on the exterior by 1788, and its interior by 1793. There are also included the stories of the prison at the foot of Prince George Street, ruined by Continental soldiers, the building of Bladen's Folly, destined to become McDowell Hall, and the original Governor's Mansion, erected on a site now within the Naval Academy grounds, and confiscated by the new state government from Governor Eden.

On the State House grounds have existed, but now disappeared, a Parade Ground, King William's School, the Armory, where public balls, such as the one preceding Washington's resignation, were held, a Market House, a Repository for the Old Records, a Powder House, a Methodist Meeting House, also called the Old Blue Church, an Octagonal Annex to the rear of the present Old State House, a rectangular Library also in the rear, and a Gun House, besides other less important structures, all this discussed with documentary proof and many pictures. Even the three erections of St. Anne's Church, till the Revolution a public structure, are included.

The question of the original architect of the 1772 State House is discussed but left unsettled till future evidence appears, but Joseph Clark is

proved to have been the later architect, and Charles Wallace the "undertaker," or contractor, for the whole building. There is also new light thrown on the various sets of furniture provided for the Old Senate Chamber, especially the fact that the set John Shaw made in 1797 could not have been the pieces that were there when Washington resigned his commission. Even John Shaw's work was given away about 1810 to John Needles, who furnished a replacement and took them as part payment.

Of the forty-three illustrations, seventeen have unfortunately had to be reconstructions drawn by Elizabeth L. Ridout from contemporary descriptions, but they help the reader to visualize what buildings now gone may have looked like. Perhaps the other illustrations should have been definitely labelled with their dates of execution, as the book will doubtless serve for many years as the authoritative work on the subject. But this is a minor blemish on what is probably the most important work on Maryland history published this year.

WALTER B. NORRIS

Arthur Pue Gorman. By JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1953. ix, 397 pp. $6.

Professor Lambert shows conclusively that Arthur Pue Gorman deserved a biography long ago. Here is a little known Marylander who was one of the most powerful political figures in the nation in the late 19th century and who from 1875 to 1906 was the unmistakable leader of the Democratic party in Maryland. In disclosing much of the inner workings of state and national politics during the period, the author has rendered valuable service.

To indicate the need of this biography, the reviewer has made a spot check of eight highly regarded college textbooks in American history. Only one goes beyond mentioning Gorman's connection with the Wilson-Gorman tariff. Readily available information in Maryland references is likewise scarce.

Writing on Gorman was not an easy task, due to the fact he was "modest to the point of self-effacement," made few speeches, recorded little, and generally worked behind the scenes. Consequently, Professor Lambert has not been able to satisfy himself or the reader on all points. Conjecture, of necessity, is employed at times, but not to the point of interrupting seriously the flow of scholarly presentation. It is essentially a political biography for Gorman's life was chiefly political. His career included service as United States Senate page, subordinate Senate offices, collector of internal revenue, member of both houses of the Maryland legislature, President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and United States Senator. There was a "Gorman boom" for the Presidency in 1892 and his name was mentioned again in 1904.

Professor Lambert lists his subject's major achievements: "his opposition to Radicalism, his businesslike administration of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, his concern for an intelligent electorate, his efforts to curb the special

privileges of railroads and corporations, his fight against the Force Bill, his unhysterical approach to the free silver controversy, his conservative attitude toward tariff reform, and his abiding distrust of imperialism." Nevertheless, Lambert admits Gorman left a rather "barren record" in public service. Principally he was a great political manager, operating by standards of his day—a machine boss of the type generally not publicly condoned today. He was cool, charming, and imperturbable. His "Old Guard" organization (the "ring" to his enemies) was built upon unshakeable loyalty of party lieutenants who except for Barnes Compton were unknown nationally. Others were Michael Bannon, Jesse K. Hines, Levin W. Woolford, Thomas J. Keating, and later Elihu E. Jackson and John Walter Smith.

Little known events and major political fights are discussed, such as the struggle between the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, between the latter and the Pennsylvania Railroad. Gorman's innovation of the "stenographic trailer," or spy, is mentioned. From one of these came the famed three "R's" — Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion — upon which Gorman as Cleveland's campaign manager in 1884 capitalized greatly. Gorman's bitter fights with the Sunpapers and his influence in the United States Senate are detailed.

In general, Gorman is treated kindly by Lambert who appraises him largely by standards of Gorman's day. Many of Gorman's actions would be ruled out today by Corrupt Practices Acts and a more enlightened citizenry. Gorman was a practical politician who knew the tricks and employed them as he desired, who avoided extremes, and who fought reform directly and indirectly. Severn Teackle Wallis called him a "base-born hero," but upon protest of the "Old Guard" changed it to "paste-board hero."

Professor Lambert generally has employed the materials at his disposal in a skillful manner and is to be commended for helping to fill this void in Maryland and national history.

CHARLES B. CLARK

Washington College

George Washington's America. By JOHN TEBBEL. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1954. 478 pp. $5.

On pages 11 and 12 of the "Introduction" to this work will be found statements by the author which make clear its primary purpose. He says very frankly that "the book is not intended for either scholars or students" but is designed, rather, to make the traditional classroom pictures of George Washington "come alive" in accordance with the findings and revelations of recent research. Using the skills of both the novelist and the historian Mr. Tebbel has certainly done this most effectively.

The abundance of local and personal details, unfamiliar and quite meaningless to the average reader, may tend to make the work seem to him

somewhat repetitious and boring in style. Nevertheless, the net impression which such a reader will gain will be that of a refreshingly new, different, and more realistic picture of Washington. Here he appears, quite justly, as the greatest of our national heroes but not as a faultless idol to be worshipped by his countrymen. Indeed, it may be said that perhaps the finest contribution which Mr. Tebbel makes through this work is to be found in the great care which he has taken to point out, most distinctly, those aspects of Washington's character and life which reveal him as having been so completely human. Even so, the careful reader will discover in these pages more than a trace of hero-worship despite the author's obvious effort to achieve complete objectivity.

The entire work is divided into five parts which are very carefully organized around Washington's travels and most significant experiences. The presentation of " A Washington Chronology " and a carefully selected list of " Reference Notes " after the text relieves the work of stilted formality and more than compensates for the absence of the usual form of documentation. Anyone who reads *Washington's America* will be richly rewarded through the many fresh and intimate pictures of both Washington and the America which he saw and knew so well. He will also be strongly impressed with the meticulous and painstaking research which Mr. Tebbel has put into the preparation of this timely volume. However, one may wonder about the author's choice of a title. Since George Washington, rather than America, is the major theme of the work, although both are very competently dealt with, perhaps a happier choice of a title might have been made.

A map indicating the travels of Washington and some of the houses in which he lived completes a volume which, in spite of a somewhat confusing chronological pattern, admirably accomplishes its stated purpose. In so doing it makes a distinct contribution to the literature dealing with the life of Washington and with the geographic, economic, and social conditions of 18th America.

E. M. Coleman

Morgan State College

The Chesapeake Affair of 1807. By John C. Emmerson, Jr. Portsmouth, Va., 1954. 223 pp. $4.50.

In *The Chesapeake Affair of 1807* Mr. Emmerson has succeeded in doing two things which, in combination, are rare in historical writing: using only original source material he has told a story of an important incident in the nation's early history so completely and in such detail that it need never be done again; and at the same time has arranged his material in such orderly manner as to produce a most entertaining and readable narrative.

The " affair," it will be recalled, occurred at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay when " his Britannick Majesty's ship *Leopard*," failing a demand for surrender of four seamen aboard the U. S. Frigate *Chesapeake*, unex-

pectedly opened fire, forcing the American warship to strike her colors—a national humiliation.

The bulk of the material for the story was obtained from the files of Norfolk newspapers of that period; from the court-martial proceedings of the officers involved; United States and British naval documents bearing on the incident; and public and private papers and letters. The numerous illustrations are from government and private collections, museums, and historical societies in this country and Great Britain. The completeness of the index is an especially pleasing feature.

A native of Portsmouth, Virginia, Mr. Emmerson devotes much of his time to local historical research. This combing of old papers and documents has resulted in the publication of several valuable reference works, notably *The Steam-Boat Comes to Norfolk Harbor*; the volume in review, however, is his first which deals with an event of national significance.

RALPH J. ROBINSON

Baltimore Association of Commerce

Letters of Noah Webster. Edited by HARRY R. WARFEL. New York: Library Publishers, 1953. xlvi, 562 pp. $7.50.

This volume is a valuable addition to the editor's own biography of Noah Webster. The wide range of Webster's interests is well illustrated by this judicious selection of his letters. One is impressed by his persistent, life-long labors in grammar, spelling, philology, and in dictionary making. Financial embarrassment and failure to secure sponsors in advance for his monumental "An American Dictionary of the English Language" (1828) could not stop him. It is regrettable, however, that he was so extremely touchy and tactless in dealing with critics and with the works of Samuel Johnson, Thomas Dilworth, and Robert Lowth.

Of almost equal interest are Webster's political views. He was an ardent nationalist in the 1780's and a prominent Federalist editor in the 1790's. His many letters to Oliver Wolcott, Rufus King, and Timothy Pickering show his close association with these leading Federalists. Strangely enough for one so vitally interested in popular education, Webster shared the prejudices of the Federalists concerning the political abilities of the "common man." Late in life, as a Whig, he expressed these views to Daniel Webster (no relation) in 1834 and in 1837, even going so far as to favor a more conservative electorate for the Senate than the state legislatures.

Noah Webster's nationalism was as literary as political in spirit. He presaged Emerson in urging literary independence from England. As early as 1783 he wrote: "America must be as independent in *literature* as she is in *politics*, as famous for *arts* as for *arms*; and it is not impossible but a person of my youth may have some influence in exciting a spirit of literary industry" (p. 4). In 1806, concerning the reception of his early Dictionary, he claimed that "the question at issue is whether an *American*

citizen shall be permitted to correct and improve English books or whether we are bound to receive whatever the English give us" (p. 269). The next year, writing to his college classmate, the poet and publicist Joel Barlow, he declared: "My plan has been to furnish our schools with a tolerably complete system of elementary knowledge in books of my own, gradually substituting American books for English and weaning our people from their prejudices and from their confidence in English authority" (p. 296).

The Introduction by the editor gives a much better idea of the diversity of Webster's interests than this brief review. The location of the manuscript or printed source of each letter is indicated. The List of Persons Mentioned is very helpful.

JAMES B. RANCK

Hood College

The Fremantle Diary. Edited by WALTER LORD. Boston: Little, Brown, 1954. xv, 304 pp. $4.

On March 2, 1863, Lieutenant Colonel Arthur James Lyon Fremantle, of H. M. Coldstream Guards, left England on a postman's holiday, having obtained leave to see at first hand the American Civil War. Like a good tourist, he kept a diary of his journey, which began at the Rio Grande and carried him through most of the southern states and into every major theater of the War. The diary went through one British and three American printings in 1863 and 1864, but has not been available since that time until now.

Colonel Fremantle traveled by horse, carriage, rail, steamer, and on foot, noting and commenting shrewdly upon agriculture, industry, frontier life, mores, and of course the War. His first meeting with lynch law came within three hours of his landing in America, and is related dispassionately as are his reactions to other American institutions from tobacco chewing, "The spitting was sometimes a little wild," to the "American Cotillion," as he called the square dance. He was a good traveler and described with more amusement than annoyance the misadventures of the road. His narrative is direct, and at times laconic, as in this paragraph:

"Mr. Ituria and I left for Brownsville at noon. A buggy is a gig on four wheels."

Despite his abhorrence of slavery, which he recognized as a minor issue in the struggle, Fremantle brought to America an open mind. As he traveled from army to army, however, through Jackson, Shelbyville, Charleston, and on to Gettysburg where he watched the battle from his perch in the tree under which Lee, Hill, Longstreet, and Hood were conferring, his sympathies turned to the gallant officers whose hardships he had shared, and when he parted from Lee at Hagerstown, he was convinced of the righteousness of the Southern cause. Although he saw and recorded the weaknesses of the South, the scarcity of ammunition, the

failure of conscription, the effects of the blockade, he failed to recognize the inevitability of Union victory, and left New York convinced that his friends could not be conquered. Nevertheless, his sojourn of more than three months resulted in a very readable diary, and the student will find valuable material in the observations of a British officer upon the conduct of the Civil War.

W. Bird Terwilliger

Americans Interpret Their Civil War. By Thomas J. Pressly. Princeton Univ. Press, 1954. xvi, 247 pp. $5.

It is a truism long recognized that works of history often reveal as much about the period in which they are written as about the period with which they purport to deal. In this scholarly, judicious, and very readable survey Professor Pressly demonstrates that this has been strikingly true of the treatment of the American Civil War. He very clearly sketches the lines by which the wartime Northern interpretation of the conflict as the product of a conspiratorial slaveholders rebellion and the Southern contention that it was a defense against an aggressive coalition of states, beside a third (or Copperhead) view that the war was the creation of a small group of fanatics on each side, have all come down to us in somewhat modified or elaborated form in the historiography of our own time. After 1880 the movement to industrialize the New South and the Northern abandonment of defense of the Negro's constitutional rights permitted a common meeting ground in the works of James Ford Rhodes, which repudiated both secession and Radical reconstruction. Twentieth century currents of economic determinism produced the interpretation of Charles A. Beard and the dogmatic distortions of the Marxists.

The fitting of human beings, including historians, and their ideas into neat categories sometimes requires a bit of trimming, and some of those still about and able to speak for themselves will no doubt protest that their views have been distorted by oversimplification. On the whole, however, this is not only a first-rate study in itself but may serve as a chastening reminder to the historian in any field that he must ever be alert to keep subjective elements out of his work. History is a discipline which demands a dedicated objectivity of its membership.

Wood Gray

George Washington University

Era of the Oath. By Harold M. Hyman. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1954. 229 pp. $5.

Loyalty, generally rather a vague sentiment, is likely to become in times of stress synonymous with a narrow conformity and a majority patriotism. A popular test of patriotism in such periods has been the taking of a

loyalty oath to the government. This was the case during the Civil War and Reconstruction era, just as it has been true of the years of the First and Second World Wars. Yet, as Professor Hyman's book covering the earlier of these periods demonstrates, it is neither easy nor practicable to enforce loyalty by means of a test oath. The people of Maryland, a key border state, were particularly affected by the conflicting concepts of loyalty and attempts to enforce patriotism that were occasioned by the Civil War. Faced with a massive rebellion, the federal government not unnaturally required of all its employees loyalty oaths attesting to a past and future allegiance to the Union. Whether such oaths exposed wartime disloyalty or insured continued patriotism is doubtful. In any case the graver problems arose after the conclusion of hostilities, when one might have supposed that the question of loyalty or disloyalty had been settled. The postwar imposition of an ironclad oath, enjoining Southerners to swear not only their future allegiance to the Constitution but their past loyalty as well, could only have the effect of disfranchising and excluding from federal office all ex-Confederates. This was no doubt the intention of the Radical Republicans, and the oath was an important means toward their end of the Radical Reconstruction of the South. But, at the same time, it was a formidable barrier to the reconciliation of the sections and to the reconstitution of the Union on terms that did not depend upon a Northern military occupation. Under growing attack from Southerners, Democrats, and liberals, the loyalty tests of the Civil War were finally repealed in 1884, almost a generation after the last gun had been fired.

Professor Hyman tells this whole story well with a wealth of detailed documentation, much of it from official government records. Though he calls his book *Era of the Oath*, the oath as a test of loyalty was but one of the examples of the intolerant nationalism fostered by the great civil conflict. The volume itself will probably appeal chiefly to scholars and specialists in the Civil War period, but it raises questions in regard to loyalty, and political tests thereof, which have a wider import and a strong general interest in our own times.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

American University

Confederate Agent: A Discovery in History. By JAMES D. HORAN. New York: Crown Publishers, 1954. xxii, 326 pp. $5.

In March, 1864, the Confederate States tried to overthrow the Federal government by the inauguration of a reign of terror in a desperate plan to end the war in a Southern military victory. It was, according to Mr. Horan, "a grand conspiracy," which stirred up a great deal of trouble in the North, but somehow the whole plan failed and nothing too important resulted from it.

The "Confederate Agent" in the story was Capt. Thomas H. Hines who had been commissioned to mastermind the project. He was the ideal man for the assignment. Although he did not succeed, he did create extensive havoc during the final year of the Civil War.

Mr. Horan has told an exciting story of this bizarre and fantastic episode. He has drawn most of his information from the Baker-Turner Papers at the National Archives, sealed from 1864 to 1953. He has thoroughly documented this book and has illustrated it profusely with rare photographs and sketches. Of value to American historiography is his introductory chapter "The Author's Search for Secret History." In spite of these admirable qualities, however, this book was a disappointment, for after reading George Milton's *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* and Wood Gray's *The Hidden Civil War*, the story is neither as sensational nor so unknown as the author has claimed it to be. The first part of the book was not quite as well written as it should have been. At the same time, however, the author has tied up all the loose ends of the previously incompletely told story of the plan to destroy the Union through conspiracy and violence. It is an invaluable contribution to the ever-growing literature of the Civil War era.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Library of Congress

A Guide To The Principal Sources For Early American History (1600-1800) In The City Of New York. By EVARTS B. GREENE and RICHARD B. MORRIS. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1953. xxxvi, 400 pp. $10.

Originally published in 1929 by co-inventory takers Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris, this standard work is the Baedeker for those who tour our colonial past. Revised by Professor Morris, the second edition includes a substantial amount of historical material which had been uncovered in the intervening quarter century.

Historians are well aware of the research facilities at Columbia University, the New-York Historical Society, and the New York Public Library. These, of course, are the major arsenals, containing the largest and most valuable artillery. But there are over thirty other institutions in New York City with indispensable small-arms for researchers. An introduction to the present volume lists these institutions and indicates, in general, the scope and nature of colonial sources housed in each. Following this, Part I details the printed primary sources, and Parts II and III the manuscript collections. These sections are again subdivided—and herein lies the real value of this book—into dozens of categories which pinpoint material for scholars. At a glance, for example, one can see what is available (and where) on business or church or legal history, on inter-colonial wars, on education or science or philosophy, on individual colonies and states, etc.

These classifications are the difference between mere compilation and true editing. Other guides—and this work is but a guide—could profit by imitation.

MORTON BORDEN

Ohio State University

Index, Volumes 1-6, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Compiled by ELIZABETH J. SHERWOOD and IDA T. HOOPER. Princeton Univ. Press, 1954. vii, 229 pp. (Distributed without charge to subscribers.)

Memo to Librarians: When the consolidated index to the *Jefferson Papers* reaches you a decade or so hence, save the "Foreword" in this, the first of several temporary indexes to be issued in the meantime. Critical attention is not often given to the indexing of anything. In this case we have the benefit of the judgment of the editors of this important enterprize. Especially noteworthy are the decisions to eliminate volume-by-volume indexes that would consume much space and would be of little value when the cumulative volumes are ready; the preparation of temporary indexes to cover periods of the subject's life rather than an arbitrary numbers of volumes; and the assumption that users may be able to discover errors or suggest improvements before the permanent index is printed. Many, in the future, no doubt, will want to review these and related decisions when preparations for other large projects are underway.

Chesapeake Cove. By GILBERT BYRON. Easton: Easton Publ. Co., 1953. 57 pp. $2.

A salt wind blows through the pages of this book as the author brings to us with exquisite perception and sincerity the lovely tributaries of the Chesapeake and its coves. We hear the rhythm of oars dipping the water, the sobbing of wild geese on a stormy winter morning, the black duck's call. In these poems we share the author's delight in the sting of a summer sou'wester tossing the bay, bending the marsh-grass, rocking the sea-gulls, and a gentler wind filling the sails of buckeye and schooner; in the stern old heron stalking the edge of the creek, and the great swan winging high above the steeple of the village church. With him we search for partridge berries stippling with scarlet the wooded gulley and for the "color of a soft crab's claw." We meet his friends—and like them: Old Hewes progging the salty grasses of his cove, Captain Jump with one good eye "but he sees plenty," gaunt harsh hip-booted Bill who hunts muskrats, and six-foot-four Myrie who works on the creek farm.

These are lyrics of beauty and quiet humor, with a warm deep feeling for the Chesapeake country and the watermen who reside there. It is a book to keep on a bed-side table and to open again and again with keen anticipation.

HELEN BAYLEY DAVIS

Crimson is the Eastern Shore. By DON TRACY. New York, Dial Press, 1953. viii, 440 pp. $3.50.

Historical novels are always of interest because of their unusual combination of historical fact and fiction. This one, by the author of *Chesapeake Cavalier* (that dealt successfully with the William Claiborne story), has as its theme the Miles River and Talbot County plantation life during the War of 1812. This novel can be praised for the picture of social life that it portrays in one of the periods of national crises of the United States. Mr. Tracy has used the battles of Queenstown and Caulk's Field and other actions in Maryland as a basis for his novel. But the characters from fiction are so strong and boldly outlined and the action so moving as to detract from what merit can be gained from true history being used in such a work. The portrayal of true historical personages like Admiral Cockburn, Lieutenant Dobson, and General Benson, is overshadowed by that of the swashbuckling and immoral fictional characterizations of Anthony Worth and his overseer, Will Roan.

The book has much unpleasant detail and a rather complicated plot. The result is far from the calibre of historical novels of such persons in the field as Francis Parkinson Keyes or Inglis Fletcher. Mr. Tracy's dramatic abilities tend to make his characters vivid and outstanding. His novel sets a pace that seldom falters into description of customs or places. His coloring is marked. Historically correct in his factual material Mr. Tracy in his novel, *Crimson is the Eastern Shore*, has presented a fast-moving, if not altogether pleasant, picture of Eastern Shore life during the War of 1812.

RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR.

Winterthur Program,
University of Delaware

The Garling Family from 1751 to 1953. By PAUL E. GARLING. Chambersburg, Pa.: Kerr Printing Co., 1954. 193 pp. $8.

This work is the result of the labors of the great-great-great grandson of the Greencastle, Pa., farmer, Jacob Garling, whose descendants have assisted the present resident of Washington County to compile a lengthy, if skeletonized, family history. Mr. Garling has enlivened a bare text with some dozen photographs, mostly of buildings, a feature too often lacking in genealogical texts.

Needless to say, such a book is useful to persons named "Garling," whether or not they are included, but, like all useful family histories, it will be enjoyed by anyone whose last name is "Angle," "Bear," "Brewer," "Eyerly," "Miller," "Myers," "Royer," "Snider," and the always ubiquitous "Smith." An adequate index and a fairly simple generation numbering make the book useful for quick reference, as every such work should be.

Users of *The Garling Family* should be warned, however, that the

author plainly states that he publishes much of what is here "as it was passed onto us by the various families." There are only 21 pages of published proof from the Pennsylvania archives. Naturally, the present reviewer regrets that details from Maryland records were not used (or quoted), for with Jacob Garling's third child, the scene shifts to this State.

ROGER THOMAS

Hall of Records, Annapolis

Lieut. Samuel Smith His Children and One Line of Descendants and Related Families. By JAMES WILLIAM HOOK. New Haven, 1953. v, 377 pp.

This book contains accounts of forty-five American settlers and of those descendants who were forbears of the compiler's grandchildren. The Samuel Smith discussed came to New England in 1634, settling in Wethersfield, Connecticut, and Hadley, Massachusetts. The account of his life and of the families of his children are most detailed. Special consideration is given to the Smith descendants of Granby, Massachusetts, including Chloe (Smith) Hayes, grandmother of former President Rutherford B. Hayes. Most of the other lines dealt with relate also to the families of New England settlers. There is, however, an account of one line of descendants of the Maryland colonist, Thomas Hook(e). The book, which is based in part on prior work of the same author, shows the results of much careful research and analysis, particularly in the treatment of the difficult-to-untangle New England Smiths.

MEREDITH B. COLKET, JR.

National Archives

The History of Oheb Shalom, 1853-1953. By LOUIS F. CAHN. Baltimore: The Congregation, 1953. 72 pp.

The Congregation of Oheb Shalom has published this handsome little volume in celebration of its centennial. Complete with maps and photographs, it gives a history of the congregation and its buildings together with brief biographies of many of the people connected with it and a look at the times and circumstances in which the Congregation developed. This account should be a useful addition not only to the history of Jews in Baltimore, but to the history of the city itself.

Jeffersonian America: Notes on the United States of America Collected in the Years 1805-6-7 and 11-12 by Sir Augustus John Foster, Bart. Edited by RICHARD B. DAVIS. San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1954. xx, 356 pp. $6.

" It has been the fate of the United States of America to be described by the travellers who have visited them in either very glowing terms of praise or of abuse and contempt," Sir Augustus commented, reading Mrs. Trollope and the rest. And he thought his own conscientious notes, even though made years before when he was at the British Embassy in Washington, would enable him to write the first balanced book about America.

Naturally, he did not altogether succeed. He knew too much about Washington for impersonal perspective and too little about states like Georgia and Mississippi to mention them at all. (But he did.) He made mistakes—though his editor, who makes some himself in the footnotes, should not be so stern about it. His description of Annapolis, for instance, suffers from his incorrect remembering that the houses there were " generally three stories high. . . ." Nor are his opinions of the people he knew, like Jefferson himself and Randolph of Roanoke, always the historically accepted ones; and, as Mr. Davis points out, he " gave undue weight to the wrong things as basic causes of the War of 1812."

None of this is seriously prejudicial to Sir Augustus' authorship in modern eyes. *Jeffersonian America* will, it is presumed, come into the hands not of general readers but people with considerable knowledge of its subject already, unlikely to be led astray by any one contemporary judgment. If like all *pars fui* commentators Sir Augustus has the defects of his virtues, the virtues are very positive ones. List among them intelligence with sincerity, malice toward none and charity toward all, a lucid, reasonable, often quotable style, an eye for color like Indians and Dunkards and epidemics, an ear for detail like the Baltimore Bird and the " small end of a ham . . . familiarly called Maryland," the ability to attract and therefore quote from and describe the very people we want to hear about, and the ability to attract posthumously a really excellent editor and prefacer.*

ELLEN HART SMITH

* Foster's description of Maryland was published in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (Dec., 1952), 283-296.

NOTES AND QUERIES

TRAVEL EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF ALEXANDER RANDALL, 1830-1831

Edited by RICHARD H. RANDALL

The extracts which follow were taken from the first of several volumes of a journal kept by Alexander Randall (1803-1881) of Annapolis. In these passages he records events of a trip through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal while enroute to upstate New York and an excursion from Washington, D. C., to the Great Falls of the Potomac. His descriptions and comments on canals, the new railroad, fads among sculptors, and drama in Baltimore are not without interest to students of Maryland history. Where possible, identifications have been supplied, and omissions are indicated.

Alexander Randall was born in Annapolis and was graduated from St. John's College in 1822. Two years later he was admitted to the bar. He served one term (1841-1843) in the House of Representatives, was a delegate to the 1850 constitutional convention, served as Attorney General of the State for several years in the 1860s and was president of the Farmer's National Bank and a vestryman of St. Anne's Church.

The original journal is in the possession of the family.

" Baltimore May 22nd 1830

" I this day left Annapolis at 1/2 past 2 o'ck. PM & arrived here about 1/2 past 6. PM distance thirty miles fare one dollar paid Porter 25 cents. I drew from the Bank $150. for my expesnes on the north trip which I have then commenced—I spent this evening at Mr. Wirt's.[1] It being now 12 o'ck. I shall let what has been said suffice

" Baltimore May 23rd 1830

" This has been a cold rainy day for the whole spent rather disagreeably—I had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Breckenridge [2] in Mr. Norris' Church this morning. . . .

[2] Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge (1800-1871), pastor of Second Presbyterian Church.

" Philadelphia May 24th 1830 (Monday)

" I left Baltimore this morning, after paying my bill $2.87 1/2, for the Carroll [of Carroll]to[n] steam Boat plying to the Chesapeake & Dela-

[1] William Wirt, the former Attorney General of the United States, whose daughter, Catherine G. Wirt, he married in 1841.

ware canal.[3] This vessel appears to be one of the finest on the Bay as to size speed and accommodations. She left the Baltimore wharf at 6 A. M. with about 80. We breakfasted on board and about 11 A. M. arrived at Chesapeake City, composed at present of two or three houses. This place is 65 miles from Baltimore and 3½ above the mouth of back Creek where the Canal commences. In a few minutes we had all the passengers & baggage transferred to the Canal barge & were again progressing on our journey. The manner of drawing these Canal boats somewhat surprised me. Each barge has a tow line of about 50 yards in length fastened about ⅓ from the bow to the other end of which 5 horses one before the other are attached, the 1st or 2nd and the 5th horses only have positions on them—These horses draw at a moderate gait sometimes a pace at others a trot sufficient however to enable the boat to keep at the rate of about 7 miles per hour. The whole distance of the Canal is 14¼ miles and requires three sets of horses for the whole voyage.

" When we meet a vessel the rule having established which is to give way no difficulty occurred, for the vessel entitled to the preference continues as usual but the other when the horses of the vessel met checked its velocity & drew in the tow line made slack by the horses' stopping till our vessel came very near, the slack line was then thrown overboard & our vessel passed over it—

" I was surprised at finding so little of this canal entirely artificial, at least 10 miles of its route is thro' the creeks & ponds which previously existed & not more than 4 miles is dug thro' dry land. These four miles however must have occasioned an immense labor as the depth of the cut was for miles in extent 70 feet deep & for some distance it equalled 90 feet, & the soil thro' which part was carried required the labor apparently to receive a permanent foundation for the tow path. The greatest depth of the excavation is 90 feet. The Canal is 60 feet wide at top & 40 at bottom. There are two canal locks and two tide locks on the whole canal. One of the canal locks retains the water above the Chesapeake about 8 feet the other lowers the vessel about same distance into the [*sic*] a branch of the Delaware River. The tide locks are to be used only when the tides make them necessary which is seldom. Various expedients are used to prevent the banks of the excavation washing down. The banks when high a[re] divided into several declivities so as to prevent an accumulation of water. These banks are in many places thatched with straw in others filled with strips of plank to prevent an accumulation of water—and thro the different declivities are troughs of wood leading to the canal to prevent washings—We meet with neither obstruction nor delay from bridges on this canal. The first and third bridges are at the Locks & are turned to the side on a pivot by a long lever with care and despatch by a single man—the second & only remaining bridge is about 80 feet above the canal—When we entered the Canal

[3] See advertisement in the Baltimore *American*, May 14, 1830, p. 1, col. 1, and announcement on p. 2, col. 6. The ship left the wharf at Light and Pratt streets.

barge we were eight feet above the level of the Chesapeake. We continued at this level till we arrived at St. Georges Town a distance of about 6 miles. Then we were lowered down about 6 or 7 feet and continued on that level till we reached the Delaware City—So that there is but one lock and [4] by the Canal barge it never having to enter either the Chesapeake or Delaware—From this it will be seen that a cut of eight or ten feet would make the Canal navigable without locks. The Canal is now at bottom on a level with the C. & D.[5] and a cut of that depth would be sufficient to give the canal a supply of water from those bays and the same depth it now has. Indeed for many purposes the Canal need not [be] more than depth of 8 feet as the barges draw when loaded deeply but 28 inches—The cost of this additional depth could not be great in comparison for the principal cause of the enormous labor of this canal was the formation of a solid foundation for the tow line that has now been effected & could scarcely be injured by deepening the canal. I do not know however that the cost of this change could be justified by the advantages likely to accrue there from or the difficulties & delays of the present arrangements.

" At Delaware City (which is about a mile below the celebrated work called Fort Delaware just completed & said capable of mounting 300 guns) we got on board the Wm. Penn another fine vessel rather inferior however to the Carroll. In this vessel we continued up the Delaware stoping at Chester & Marcus Hook to receive passengers. Wilmington about ½ mile from the River was in full view from the Boat as also was the residence of Com. Porter a beautiful brick Building painted yellow—We saw the Com. standing at his front door.[6]

" On board of this vessel we dined with about 80 passengers. The dinner was excellent & afforded us the first opportunity of eating lobster. This fish is much inferior to our crab—It is worthy of remark that at this table there was not one drop of spirituous liquor drank to the best of my knowledge & I took all pains to know the fault—most drank water—a few ale—none any thing [ ] [7] not even wine. So much perhaps for " Temperance Societies." I do not know by the bye what to think of those *moral* men who declaim against such attempts to reform mankind—of this however again—

We arrived in this vessel at the Philadelphia wharf about 6 P. M. performing the voyage from Delaware City to Philadelphia in about four hours, a distance of about forty eight miles.

" The fare from Baltimore to Philadelphia $3. Meals 87 cts—Visited the Philadelphia Arcade this evening—a building intended to immitate the Bygones of Turkey. These buildings have two stories of open shops. They are made of a succession of arches having on each side of the

[4] The meaning is: There is only one lock to be negotiated by the canal barge; the barge does not have to enter either the Bay or the River.

[5] That is, on a level with the Bay and the River.

[6] David Porter (1780-1843). The house undoubtedly was " Greenbank," a wedding present from his father-in-law, in Chester, Pennsylvania.

[7] One word not deciphered.

avenue rooms fitted up for stores. In this there was a great variety of all kinds of merchandise tastely arranged surrounded with buyers & sellers & as the whole was glaringly illuminated from one street quite thru to the other it had a very [ ][8] & quite pleasing effect. In this establishment too we saw Peale's Museum. Here was that eternal variety of all the animals that now do, or even did exist, & perhaps we have some few there to which Dame Nature herself would require an introduction—add to them all the other inhabitants of Museums such as Paintings, Statues, Fossils &c. &c. &c. & I can imagine a better description than more time than I can now spare from the actual vision of all these "sights" will enable me to write down. . . .

"Philadelphia May 25th 1830 (Tuesday)

". . . I could not but remark the ridiculous propensity of modern Artists in Stone to imitate the models of the Ancients in the costume of their nations even when an individual of our own time whom we know dressed in our own fashions is to be represented. This was called to my attention by seeing a statue of Franklin in the dress of the Caesars. . . .

"June 4th 1830 Friday

"Left Philadelphia at 6 o'ck A. M. for Baltimore. The early part of this day was very unpleasant caused by the rain & mist. About noon however it became clear & before our arrival in Baltimore we had as clear a sky as it there had never been a cloud.

"The passage thro' the Canal tho' not so novel as before was not without its attractions, included such stupendous undertakings which seem to set nature's determinations at defiance cannot but give us grand conceptions of our nature. We were ably landed in Baltimore about 7 o'ck. P. M. . . .

"Annapolis Tuesday 17th May 1831

"This morning I returned home from an absence since the 4th instant—on that day I went to Baltimore in the Steam Boat[9] and remained till Monday the 9th when I went to Washington in the Stage—remained in W. till Monday the 16th whence I arrived in Baltimore—& returned thence today—

My indolence or perhaps in part my attention to other matters, the causes of my trip, prevented me from paying any attention to this book. I shall now write down a few particulars relative to my absence.

I was induced by the persuasion of friends to attend the Theatre in Bal-

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[8] One word not deciphered.

[9] The Steamboat *Franklin* served the Annapolis-Baltimore area; see *American*, May 17, 1831, p. 1, col. 1.

timore in order to see the performance of the Irish Boy, Martin Burke—with which I was greatly & unexpectedly delighted.[10] This child (I cannot call him with propriety a youth) is said to be about 19 years of age & really his appearance *when in his own character* would convey the impression that he had not attained that age— and yet he is a most correct and entertaining Performer both in Comedy & Tragedy—his voice is distince & loud having just so much of the boy's as to prevent its being taken for that of an adult with most of the clearness [?] & fullness which rarely are possessed till manhood. His action & manner are natural & appropriate, sometimes rather over-wrought but never disgustingly so. He is always fully prepared with his parts, & even makes occasionally ludicrous & suitable interliniation of his own composition. Moreover this child is a remarkably skillful performer on the violin, so much so that he leads the orchestra in some fine pieces operaic [?] between the parts. He is well skilled in the science operaic [?] and harmony other accomplishments none of which are commonly attained by persons of his years. . . .

" I again travelled on the Rail Road & was delighted with the ride.[11] We went at about the rate of 12 miles an hour. Mr. Thomas [12] the President of the Company stated that there had been a Steam Car on the Road a few days before in which he travelled at the rate of 20 miles an hour—and that there would be in a few days some that would regularly ply to Ellicotts. I saw another set of autoamta of Mailzel the famous German mechanic & was highly gratified at the spectacle. The exhibition to which I particularly refer was that of the circus of automaton men & horses, the others I had seen before—Then men & horses performed all the feats & evolutions of real men & horses in the Circus. While at Washington I made a trip up the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal as far as the great Falls. This Canal appears to be much inferior in its workmanship and materials to either of the Canals I have seen and greatly larger than the N. York Canal. The Boat for Passengers was drawn at about the rate of 4 miles an hour when not impeded by locks which is little more than half the speed of such Boats on the Delaware Canal. Two or three horses (I forget which) only were used on the Ohio Canal.

" I remarked that the locks were filled in part if not in the whole by chambers thro the mason-work under & at the sides of the lock which were opened by use of machinery on the top of the lock. The great advantage of this plan (which I understand is also used on the New York Canal) is that the Boat is lifted up & lowered without those sudden motions & jerks that always take place when the water is admitted from

[10] Burke played Romeo in the first performance of the evening and " My Lord Duke " in the farce, " High Life Below Stairs," which concluded the night's entertainment. See *Baltimore Republican*, May 17, 1831, p. 2, col. 6.

[11] As the " York," first locomotive in regular service, was not used until June, 1831, the car in which Randall rode may have been pulled by the " Tom Thumb."

[12] Philip E. Thomas, first president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

a high point are apt to do serious injury to the small and frail boats deeply loaded with heavy Cargoes which navigate the Ohio Canal. On the Delaware Canal there is no necessity for this caution because all the Boats which pass thro' that are strong & such as navigate the Bays it unites except the Passenger Boats & these are not likely to be injured by this motion. I heard it said that the admission and discharge of the water thro' the end of the lock as on the Delaware Canal was the more expeditious tho' from my recollection I came to a different conclusion.

" The Mason work of this Canal is admirable. Seldom did you see any water going thro' it & then it seemed but the drops which oozed into it when the water was high & dripped back when the Lock was empty whereas on the Delaware Canal there were constant streams running thro' as if from the feeder of the Lock & on that in N. York these streams were often as thick as a man's wrist. The Scenery on the Potomac is often beautiful & sometimes sublime at least to those who have not run the North River. You see I make novelty to be a constituent part of the Sublime. I was rather disappointed in the Sight of the Great Falls. I expected to see a great uninterrupted fall of water whereas three falls are broken into ten or fifteen minor falls. I should estimate the fall of water from the highest visible point of these Falls to the lowest equal to ninety or 100 feet and divided into six or ten falls. The whole appearance of the River rushing down these rocks cannot however be tamely viewed by any spectator. The immense clouds of spray, the sounds [?] distinct falls produced distinct resounds [?], the eddying of the waters dashing themselves on every side (rushing on as if to) and [ ][13] down with great velocity every thing that dared oppose its progress, contrasted with the stability solidity and hight [*sic*] of the surrounding masses of rock which seemed in surly silence to disregard [?] all the raging of the Waters & like an implacable janitor to retain them in their appointed place & the men fishing on these rocks whose puny bodies seemed safe only because objects not worthy the remonstrance [?] of the angery flood. The [ ][14] & others accompanying found a *tout ensemble* highly gratifying & well worth the labor & difficulty of the sight.

" The Boat in which we ascended the Canal is the First Boat for Passengers that ever navigated it. It is built pretty much after the plan of the Delaware Canal Boats tho' not so large or commodious. No doubt those which shall hereafter be built will be more suitable & convenient as the Canal is sufficiently large to admit them of the largest size of Canal Boats."

Franklin Papers—The organization responsible for the editing of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University has been completed. Professor Leonard W. Labaree, Farnam Professor of History at Yale, editor of the project, has

[13] One word not deciphered.
[14] One word not deciphered.

taken up his duties on July 1, working in New Haven. The assistant editor will be Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Research Associate Professor of American History at the University of Pennsylvania, who is carrying on his duties at Philadelphia in the library of the American Philosophical Society.

An appeal to libraries, collectors, and other individuals possessing any letters by or to Benjamin Franklin or other manuscript material by the great Philadelphian has been made by the sponsors of the project. Such owners are invited to cooperate with this undertaking by informing the editor of their holdings and making them available for photographic reproduction and ultimate inclusion in the edition. Communications regarding Franklin manuscripts should be addressed to Professor Labaree at Yale University Library, Room 230, New Haven, Connecticut. He will arrange for photographing of all such materials and full acknowledgments of ownership will be made as the materials are printed. Both the American Philosophical Society and Yale University will continue to be interested in adding to their collections of Frankliniana, by gift or purchase, as before. During the life of the editorial project the original papers held by the repositories will remain available for general scholarly use on the same basis as in the past.

The editors are being advised by a committee of four experts in American Colonial history: Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale; Lyman H. Butterfield of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg; I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard; Robert E. Spiller, University of Pennsylvania: and Lawrence C. Wroth of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence.

Mount Clare—We are pleased to call attention to the reference to and illustrations of this house in H. D. Eberlein and C. V. Hubbard, *American Georgian Architecture* (Bloomington, 1952), p. 35 and plates 43, 44. (See article on "Hayes" in our June, 1954, issue, p. 92.)

Harding—Wish names of heirs of Wm. Harding who m. Rachel Lamar in Prince George's Parish, Montgomery Co., 3-22-1784. Where did he and his wife die? Did he leave a will?

Mrs. E. B. Federa
1224 Cherokee Road, Louisville, Ky.

Ryal—Request information about Ryal family of Baltimore, especially parentage of following (sisters?): 1) Martha Ryal, m. Nathan Joyce, Balto., m. lic. dated 12-6-1798. She d. June or Aug., 1831. 2) Sarah Ryal (?), m. Wm. Hayes of Barnesville, m. lic. in Anne Arundel Co.

3-27-1780 giving name *Ryan* believed incorrect. Since before 1820 Martha Joyce resided with Sarah Hayes family in Balto. and both included in same Bible record. Sarah d. 5-12-1837.

R. C. Smith
487 Union Ave., Laconia, N. H.

Sewell—Would like information on Samuel Sewell, son of Henry and Mary (Marriott) Sewell. His parents settled on Severn R. and he inherited Duvall's Delight, Sewell's Fancy, Howard's and Porter's Ranges. His father d. ca. 1722.

W. L. Sewell
152 Peruvian Ave., Palm Beach, Fla.

Snow-Abell-Spalding—Need data from private or professional sources regarding English origin, background, or antecedents of following settlers: Justinian Snow, d. 3-21-1639, father of Susannah who m. Thomas Gerard. Capt. Robert Abell, b. ca. 1620, from England, settled in St. Mary's Co. Thomas Spalding, d. 1659, St. Mary's Co., from England in 1634-5.

Edgar Peterson
485 Madison Ave., New York 22.

Walters—Need information about any Bennett Walters marriage prior to 1780.

Mrs. Kenneth A. Bourne
337 Tunbridge Rd., Baltimore 12.

CONTRIBUTORS

Long interested in the history of Annapolis, Mrs. Francis F. Beirne has recently contributed articles on William Buckland and Gov. Robert Eden. ☆ Dr. Gordon, also a previous contributor, has written an essay on the life of his grandfather's first cousin and edited his Diary for publication. ☆ Mr. Hunter is Director of the Peale Museum and a student of Baltimore history. ☆ Mrs. Peabody continues in this issue the editing of the letters of her ancestor, Governor Lee.

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

"Wades Point," Bay Hundred, Talbot County
From a Watercolor

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

December · 1954

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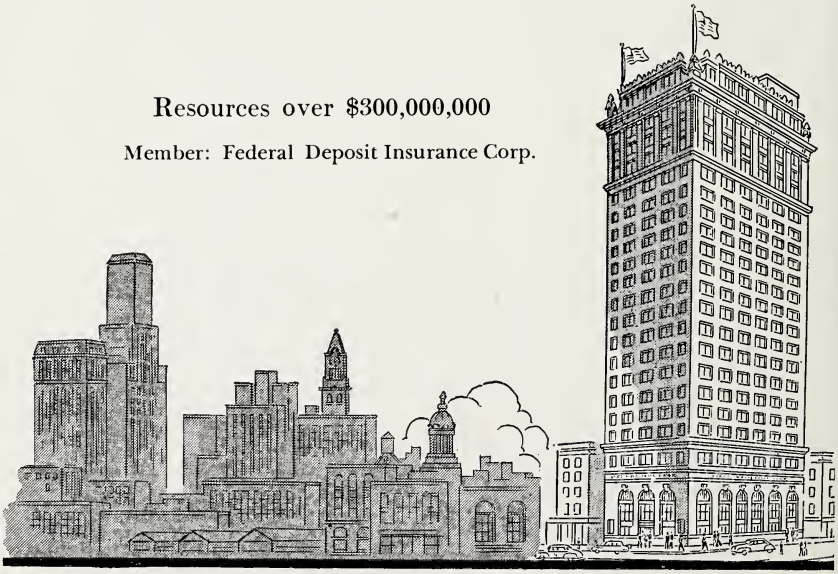

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XLIX, NO. 4 DECEMBER, 1954

CONTENTS

PAGE

The Unveiling of the Original Manuscript of The Star-Spangled Banner 259

Thomas Kemp, Shipbuilder, and His Home, Wades Point *M. Florence Bourne* 271

Lafayette's Visit in Frederick, 1824 *Dorothy Mackay Quynn* 290

The Monday Club . . . . . *William D. Hoyt, Jr.* 301

Revolutionary Mail Bag: IV Edited by *Helen Lee Peabody* 314

Reviews of Recent Books 332

Annual Subscription to the Magazine $4.00. Each issue $1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes,* a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, the *Archives of Maryland* and the record of Maryland in World War II under the authority of the State and other serial and special publications.

The annual dues of the Society are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes,* is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15,* daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 2.

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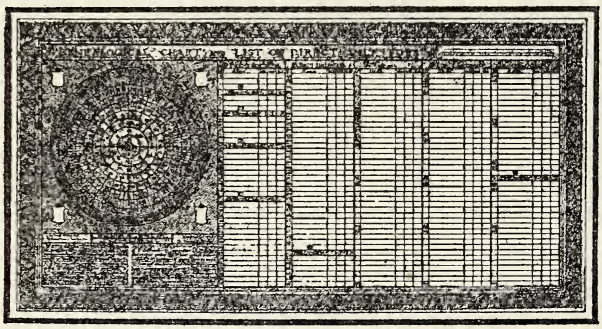

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THE UNVEILING OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

IN the Main Gallery and adjoining Library of the Keyser Memorial, headquarters of the Maryland Historical Society, a large audience assembled for the unveiling of the original manuscript of The Star-Spangled Banner. President George L. Radcliffe opened the meeting at 8:20 p. m. on September 14, 1954.

MR. RADCLIFFE:

Ladies and Gentlemen: You are present tonight to witness an outstanding event in the history of the Society.

Before proceeding with the program I shall ask Father Driscoll to offer the invocation.

REV. WILLIAM M. J. DRISCOLL, S. J.:

This historical manuscript is the first draft of the most famous expression of praise and devotion to our flag. It is our traditional salute to America.

We make to God this prayer today.

Lord of Hosts, let us do for our country something even finer than the thing that was done by Francis Scott Key. He paid to America a superb tribute in words. Help us to give her the great and more sublime salute of deeds and actions—the living of our lives as true Americans.

Yet more, O Lord: this Star-Spangled Banner and all it stands for we love with our whole hearts. Protect it with Thy omnipotent power, cherish it with Thy infinite love; give peace and security to this land so precious to us.

Said Thomas Jefferson: "The last hope of human liberty in this world rests on us." His words were never truer than they are today. Let us take our stand beneath this Star-Spangled Banner and let us be firm in hope and grounded in courage. The bombs are still bursting in air; there is, across the world, the cannons' red glare; may our flag, always, imperishably, serenely, victoriously, be there—even as it was that night 140 years ago tonight, when Francis Scott Key saw it continuously flying—through the night—until the dawn—until peace.

This, O Lord, is our prayer. Offered at Baltimore, the birthplace of this glorious anthem, in Maryland, fair elder daughter of American freedom.

MR. RADCLIFFE:

The eloquent prayer that you have just heard reflects the feelings of all of us here for the unveiling of a manuscript, one of the most valuable documents in American history. Good fortune has been kind to our Society. When the fate of that manuscript was uncertain and a great library in another city was opening negotiations to obtain it, Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins gave us all the money needed for its purchase.

You are all aware that two years ago Mrs. Jenkins presented to the Society a splendid collection of portraits of the Key family, including one of Francis Scott Key, and also paid for all the expenses of fitting up the Key Room in the Society's building.

Now Mrs. Jenkins has made it possible for the Society to own this first complete draft of The Star-Spangled Banner and has provided a lovely setting for it which you will see in a few moments. The gift of the manuscript and the marble niche containing it are a memorial to the late Mrs. George C. Jenkins, born Catherine Key, a cousin of Francis Scott Key. Mrs. George Jenkins was the mother of the late Thomas C. Jenkins, husband of our benefactress. The debt of the Society and of the community at large to Mrs. Jenkins is, indeed, beyond computation.

There are present, I believe, many who are allied to Francis Scott Key by descent or other close ties. His numerous descendants are living in various parts of the Country. We also have with us several persons who have devoted much study to the life of Francis Scott Key and to the Battle of Baltimore which called into being our National Anthem. Among them is the Honorable Edward S. Delaplaine, Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, who wrote an able biography of Francis Scott Key. We regret

that Mr. Neil Swanson, author of the book *The Perilous Fight*, the story of Maryland's participation in the War of 1812, could not be present.

Our guest speakers will emphasize how this invaluable manuscript which originated in Baltimore has always been preserved and cherished in this city. In fact for many years it was in a house only a few feet from us, which has lately been acquired by the Society. The manuscript now finds a fitting and permanent home in the beautiful marble niche built for it by our benefactress, Mrs. Jenkins.

I now wish to introduce the distinguished Governor of Maryland, a member of the Maryland Historical Society and a devoted student of history, the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin.

GOVERNOR MCKELDIN:

Senator Radcliffe, Mrs. Jenkins, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure to be here on this important occasion when the Society dedicates the original manuscript of The Star-Spangled Banner in the handwriting of Francis Scott Key. I wish to congratulate Mrs. Jenkins for making this wonderful gift to the Society and to the people of the State of Maryland.

The motto of our State is usually expressed as "Womanly words, manly deeds." It has remained for Mrs. Jenkins to turn this motto around. We can all agree that this is an occasion of "Manly words, *womanly deeds*." (Applause)

The permanent preservation of this manuscript here in Baltimore where it was written is ground for the most sincere congratulations to all concerned. I am very happy that this wonderful document will be kept in Maryland and that it will be an inspiration to young and old of our State. I wish to express to you, Mrs. Jenkins, on behalf of the people of Maryland, our congratulations and our thanks for making it possible for this precious document to remain in our midst.

MR. RADCLIFFE:

Our Governor recently made an address in Philadelphia on the subject of The Star-Spangled Banner which won well deserved praise.

We have the pleasure also tonight of having with us the chief executive of Baltimore City, likewise a member of this Society. It is my privilege to present the Honorable Thomas D'Alesandro, Mayor of Baltimore.

MAYOR D'ALESANDRO:

Mr. President, Governor McKeldin, Mrs. Jenkins, Fellow Citizens: It is entirely fitting and proper that this original manuscript of our National Anthem should be here in Baltimore where it rightfully belongs.

Everyone who visits Fort McHenry must feel the same emotions experienced by Francis Scott Key, as he witnessed the attack on the fort.

The City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland owe a great debt of gratitude to Mrs. Thomas Courtney Jenkins, whose civic-minded generosity has made this historic gift to the Maryland Historical Society possible.

The gift constitutes a memorial to Catherine Key Jenkins, a cousin of Francis Scott Key, and will forever remain a memorial, both to Francis Scott Key and his cousin.

On behalf of the citizens of Baltimore, I desire to express my official and personal thanks to the donor of this priceless document, Mrs. Thomas Courtney Jenkins.

In these days, when patriotism is so sorely needed, just a look at this manuscript should make better Americans of all who behold it. May it ever be a reminder of the heroism and patriotism of the defenders of Fort McHenry in 1814.

MR. RADCLIFFE:

Thank you, Mr. Mayor, for your very instructive and appropriate remarks. All of us echo the sentiments you have expressed so eloquently.

When this occasion was being planned we felt that in addition to Admiral Hill, and the gentlemen you have just heard, there should be an authoritative voice to describe the events that led up to the writing of The Star-Spangled Banner by Francis Scott Key—to tell us just how it happened. No one could do this so well, we believed, as Dr. Gerald W. Johnson, author of many works of biography and history, and an able and popular television commentator. I take pleasure in presenting Dr. Johnson.

DR. JOHNSON:

Mr. President, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Star-Spangled Banner is unique among national anthems in several respects. It is the only one inspired by a single military action. It is the only one written by a poet who stood on the wrong side of the battle line. It is the only one whose mood passes from anxiety, through exultation, to end in dedication. Like the *Marseillaise* its eyes are fixed on the glories of the future, rather than those of the past. Like *God Save the King* it has a religious overtone. Like *The Watch on the Rhine* it is grimly resolute. But in combining these qualities it becomes unique, and this singularity is easily traceable to the circumstances of its composition.

To a man of the 20th century those circumstances seem odd to the verge of the fantastic. Here we find a lawyer allowed to appear before the admiral commanding a hostile fleet, to argue the law of nations in behalf of a civilian prisoner charged with hostile acts against an invading army. Not only was he heard, but the admiral, his second in command, and the commander of the troops in the landing force, after due delibration agreed that his argument was sound and ordered the release of the prisoner. All concerned took it for granted that every military force, even an invading army, is bound by the rules of civilized warfare.

This seems strange today because since 1814 both Americans and British have had a fearfully thorough education in the military policies of savagery. Nurse Cavell and Louvain began to teach us in the first World War, and in the second the Death March on Bataan, Malmédy, Lidice, and the Polish officers in the dreadful forest completed our education.

We have been instructed out of all comprehension of the relatively civilized 19th century.

It is necessary to try to recapture the spirit of that time in order to understand the series of events that produced our National Anthem. As the British army under General Robert Ross withdrew after its raid on Washington, some drunken soldiers straggled away from their outfits and trespassed upon the property of Dr. William Beanes in Upper Marlboro, and the indignant doctor demanded their arrest by local peace officers which seems to have been effected. If anything like that occurred today, the subsequent proceedings would have been quite simple. The officer commanding the next detachment would release the soldiers and have the doctor shot along with the officers making the arrest. But the civilized invader of 1814 merely took the doctor into custody and apparently did not molest the constables at all.

Even so, it was felt that he had exceeded his authority, and Dr. Beanes' friends promptly retained a lawyer to get him out of the jam. That is why Attorney Key, of Georgetown, having secured authorization from President Madison, came to Baltimore to pick up John S. Skinner, American agent for the exchange of prisoners, whose presence would make things regular, and took a small ship down the Bay right into the midst of the enemy fleet. Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, commanding, respected Key's flag of truce, and with Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn and General Ross, heard the case, decided that the doctor had not, in fact, committed an act of war, and ordered his release.

But even in 1814 there was a limit to courtesies in an active theater of war. Cochrane was about to attack Baltimore, and he could not allow news of his preparations to be carried back to the city; so he put the three Americans in their own ship under guard of a squad of Marines, and when the attack began put the ship in a safe place and held it until the affair should be finished. That is how Key came to watch the battle from the wrong side of the lines.

He saw nothing of the bloodiest and really decisive part of the fighting. That occurred on the 12th, when Ross landed his army and attempted to take the city from the land side. General Samuel Smith with the main army waited for him in entrenchments thrown up on the hill of which Patterson Park is now a part; but he screened his position with three thousand militia under General John Stricker, who were posted across the neck of land known as North Point. This screening force Ross struck and drove back upon the main body, which was what General Smith had expected. What he had little reason to expect was that Stricker fought a delaying action so furious that Ross was killed and his army badly mauled before the main position was uncovered. Colonel Brooke, Ross' successor, realized that he had not strength enough left to carry the works by assault, so he called on the fleet to move up and blast Smith out of his entrenchments.

This was the operation that Key observed from his position down the harbor. To carry it out Cochrane had first to reduce the fort on Whetstone Point and the shore batteries on either side; so he moved up and

for twenty-five hours bombarded the fort with everything he could bring to bear. The fort could make no effective reply because the range of its guns was too short, so Colonel Armistead, commanding, simply stood and took it.

From the morning of the 13th until midnight the cannonading was incessant; then it paused long enough for a landing party in small boats to make a dash for the shore behind the fort, but the small boats ran into fire from batteries at what is now Port Covington and were beaten back with loss. So the bombardment was resumed and continued the rest of the night.

That is what the three Americans were watching from behind the British line. For Skinner and Dr. Beanes it must have been an unforgettable day and night, but for Francis Scott Key it was terrific. In the first place, he was a high-strung romantic young man who felt everything intensely and was fond of expressing his feelings in verse, usually very flowery and fanciful. In the second place, he alone of the three had witnessed what happened to Washington when the British struck and he must have believed that one more such blow would just about finish the Americans.

But for twenty-five hours he could hear plenty but could do nothing and could see little. His heart almost failed him about midnight, when the firing suddenly stopped; it actually meant that the landing party was trying to get ashore, but it might have meant that the flag had been hauled down. But when a hellish din broke loose behind the fort, where the shore batteries were working on the boats, it became clear that the fight was not over.

But in the cold, gray dawn everything stopped again and this time there was no resumption. The battle was finished, but who had won? As the light strengthened and the morning mist thinned, the outlines of the fort slowly appeared. The tall flagstaff carried a flag, but it hung limp in the windless air and no one could identify it. A puff stirred it, and another, but not enough to show its design; at last though, the real morning breeze came, caught it, lifted it, flung it wide—and Key's straining eyes were staring at " broad stripes and bright stars."

That explains why the American national anthem begins in suspense, torn between hope and fear, proceeds into stern defiance, bursts into wild exultation and then, as the smoke of battle drifts away, ends in a prayer:

> Oh! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
> Between their loved homes and the war's desolation!
> Blest with victory and peace, may the heaven-rescued land
> Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation.

Within twenty-four hours all Baltimore was singing the words to the popular tune of *Anacreon in Heaven*, and the song swept the country. It has been resounding ever since. In the generations since many other patriotic songs have risen and fallen in popular favor but none has displaced this one, for no other so perfectly represents the hopes and fears, the resolution and the aspiration that have characterized our people and

that, under the Power that Key acknowledged, created the spirit "that hath made and preserved us a nation."

MR. RADCLIFFE:

Mr. Johnson has given us a vivid picture of the events that inspired Key to compose The Star-Spangled Banner. Thanks to his brilliant interpretation, we can all better realize the emotions that Key expressed in his immortal words.

It is now my pleasant duty and great privilege to introduce our principal speaker who will tell us something of the meaning of The Star-Spangled Banner in the lives of people living today. He is one of the outstanding men of the last war and a man who has shown his devotion to Maryland by writing a book about important events in our history, as you all know. He has just returned to Maryland to live here after a distinguished career that began when he entered the Naval Academy. He once served as a junior officer on the old battleship *Maryland*, and her successor of the same name was his flagship in the Pacific Theatre. He had an outstanding record in World War II — I need only mention the engagements at Tarawa, Eniwetok, Saipan, Tinian, and Okinawa. He received the Distinguished Service Medal no less than three times. He has been superintendent of the Naval Academy and commandant of the National War College. I have the honor to present Admiral Harry W. Hill.

ADMIRAL HILL:

Senator Radcliffe, Governor McKeldin, Mrs. Jenkins, Ladies and Gentlemen: I consider it a great privilege and honor to be present on this memorable occasion and to join with you in dedicating an evening of our lives to the appreciation of this glorious anthem and the flag for which it stands.

How many times have you, as individuals, asked yourselves what The Star-Spangled Banner means to you? We celebrate a Flag Day, but for most of us I am afraid that is like Thanksgiving Day—one day in the year in which we think of, and give thanks for, the many blessings America has bestowed upon us—and then we go blissfully through 364 more days taking everything for granted.

I am sure that most of you have experienced the thrill of seeing the stars and stripes in a foreign port—and have felt that tingling of the spine at the sound of our National Anthem's stirring music and its inspiring words. To us, in this present day, they bring a sense of security, and freedom, and a guarantee of our way of life.

But at the time they came into existence, both the flag and the anthem symbolized a desperate struggle, against enormous odds, for survival as a nation, and for protection of the freedoms with which we are now so richly endowed. Hence the theme of joy, thankfulness, and exaltation at the occasional glimpses of the flag during the bombardment.

In the last stanza of this immortal song, Francis Scott Key defines this as a struggle by freemen for defense of their homes and loved ones.

He expresses his concern over this struggle, and gives acknowledgment to Divine guidance for national victory "when our cause it is just." He also asks that we "praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation."

And so this anthem, and our beloved flag, become the symbols of everything we Americans hold dear—our nation, our homes and loved ones, our freedoms, and our way of life. They represent the glorious traditions of our forefathers and the hopes for the continued greatness of America in the future. They are reminders of the fact that, both as individuals and as a nation, we should seek Divine guidance in our daily lives. Every rendition of The Star-Spangled Banner, or sight of the flag, should stir our national pride, and inspire us to be better Americans.

Never in the history of the world has a nation been so endowed with those things which insure security, prosperity, and the five freedoms, to all its citizens. We are indeed a fortunate people, and should be humbly grateful.

In return, our country asks only that we be good citizens. Of the great variety of ways open to us for accomplishment of that task, I wish to tell you briefly of two impressive examples I have encountered.

During the war I had as a member on my staff a man who had been born in Sweden, and who as a young man had come to America. He was quite poor and eventually settled in Alaska, where during the years he did well and became one of the prominent citizens of that territory. He had been a member of the Naval Reserve, and immediately when war was declared, applied for active duty. I have never talked to a person who was so proud and appreciative of being an American as he was. I used to delight in talking to him about it because he was so sincere and honest in his feelings in the matter. America had taken him in as a poor boy and had befriended him. From his point of view there was nothing too much to give America in return—his home, his property, his very life—all these he would willingly have laid on the altar of appreciation for the privilege of being an American citizen.

I want to tell you about another man with whom I came in contact during my recent experience as Governor of the U. S. Naval Home in Philadelphia. This man was a man who had served for thirty years as an enlisted man in the Navy, commencing with the Spanish War. I was talking to him in my office one day and was inquiring about his family connections. He had no family—all his kinfolk were dead. I happened to know that he had about $2,000 to his credit on the books, and during the course of the conversation I asked him what he was going to do with that when he died. He said, "Well, Admiral, not long ago I saw some statement to the effect that the individual share of the national debt was about $1,700 or $1,800. You know, Uncle Sam has been awful good to me in my life and all the years I spent in the Navy. I have always wondered how I could pay that back in some way. So I have written into my will that on my death this money that I have is to be paid to the Treasurer of the United States in settlement of my share of the national debt." Now that man certainly showed me a tremendous sense of appre-

ciation for the privilege of being an American, and I can't imagine any better lesson in how to be a good citizen than the one he provides.

Maryland produced a national hero who gave us an example of good citizenship which should be more generally applied today. I refer to Stephen Decatur. He was a man well experienced in international affairs—a statesman as well as a naval officer. His philosophy of good citizenship was summed up briefly in his famous toast in 1815—"Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right! But right or wrong, our country!"

This is a free country and individual opinion is not only allowed, but encouraged. In the Navy, before a decision is reached by the Commander, a frank and open discussion has been had with appropriate members of his staff. But when he has made his decision—we demand that everyone give full loyalty to that decision, just as if it were his own.

That is something we need more of in this country today. Although not so evident as it was in those days 140 years ago—our nation is again in a terrific struggle. This time it is a cold war—a struggle against an ideology which does not believe in Divine guidance and which would destroy all that The Star-Spangled Banner stands for. Many years of this struggle lie ahead, and it is essential that we, as citizens, acquaint ourselves with the problem, and if we have opinions, present them through the normal channels rovided. But once a decision is reached, let us all adopt Decatur's philosophy, and throw our strong and unqualified support to our President and his advisors in their conduct of our foreign policy. A unified opinion at home is essential if our diplomats on the front lines of this struggle are to succeed.

One other very important function for us as citizens is in the home, and involves the training of the younger generations in the high ideals I am sure all of this audience believe in. We hear much these days of juvenile delinquency, and other problems of youth. These things stem directly from the home, and the lack of home training. It is a serious problem facing every community, but a solution for it must be found.

From the long range point of view, I believe that one of the important keys to its solution lies in the very thing to which we are paying homage tonight—The Star Spangled Banner and the flag for which it stands.

Require that our National Anthem be played at all public gatherings.

Conduct a drive from the pulpit, press, and particularly in the schools, with a view to instilling in our people a greater appreciation of their privilege of being Americans. Inspire them with a strong spirit of nationalism, and a fierce pride in their flag and all it stands for. Train them to have respect for our President, and those in Washington who are responsible for the conduct of our foreign affairs; and teach them the philosophy of Stephen Decatur.

I am a great believer in these younger generations. You will recall, in the days before World War II, our youth was being derided by the Axis Powers as softies, mollycoddles, degenerates, etc.

During the war it was my privilege to command a great many of these "softies" and "mollycoddles." I will never forget the wonderful job

they did. They devoted their entire thoughts to that of a service to their country, regardless of self. Cheerful, courageous, and efficient, they taught a lesson to all mankind that American youth can be depended upon always when the chips are down.

That was the young generation in the last war—the "softies"? I'll take them on my team any time!

Instill into them, in time of peace, the ideals for which their forefathers fought and died, and a sincere love and devotion to our flag and the country for which it stands.

Do those, my fellow citizens, and you need never worry about the future of this beloved land.

MR. RADCLIFFE:

Thank you very heartily for your inspiring address, Admiral Hill. Your apt illustrations provide fresh insight into familiar matters to which enough thought is rarely given. I know everyone here was moved by your thoughtful and stirring address.

When the Society began to plan the installation of The Star-Spangled Banner, we turned of course to the Chairman of the Gallery Committee, Mr. Scarff, and of the Committee on the Building, Mr. White. These two gentlemen, with Mr. Fowler, all architects, have had charge of the matter. As spokesman for this group, I ask Mr. Scarff to give us an account, telling us of the design and technical features of the niche. I take pleasure in introducing Mr. John H. Scarff, the distinguished architect of Baltimore, who has been tireless in his attention to this work.

MR. SCARFF:

President Radcliffe, Ladies and Gentlemen: Mrs. Jenkins made but two suggestions for the installation of the famous manuscript—first that it be appropriately *handsome* and second that it be *safe*.

Our President requested the three architect members of the Council to advise him on appropriate measures to carry out Mrs. Jenkins' suggestions. They are: Mr. Lucius White, Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler, and myself. The installation is the result of our collaboration. The builders who translated our design to actual building materials were the Messrs. Russell Hicks of the firm of Thomas Hicks & Sons, who throughout a year of effort, exercised an ingenuity and patience beyond the line of duty.

For the installation we selected a location in the fire-proof part of our building at the head of the circular stair leading from the Park Avenue entrance. This had formerly been a semi-circular headed window. At this location we constructed a masonry niche and lined it with a warm reddish Tennessee marble known by the trade name "Fleuri." The semi-dome we asked Mr. McGill Mackall, the mural painter, to decorate to show the paling sky at dawn with the proper constellations for this latitude in mid-September. In this we were advised by Mr. Paul C. Watson, Curator of Astronomy at the Maryland Academy of Science. With his planetarium he gave us an exhibition of exactly what the heavens looked like on that morning one hundred and forty years ago.

I asked Dr. Watson a question which I am sure occurs to some here tonight. It was: "Is the sky always the same each September 14"? The reply was no, because of the "wobble" of the earth's axis, there is a cycle of change of about 25,000 years. Now we had no way of knowing if on this morning 140 years ago we were at the beginning of the "wobble" or at the end or in the middle. So all I can now say is that at least once every 25,000 years the firmament depicted by Mr. Mackall is exactly correct.

So now the half dome above the niche shows the heavens that Francis Scott Key might have seen from the deck of his ship to the northwest above Fort McHenry when by dawn's early light, during a lull in the battle the smoke of bursting bombs cleared away. The gilded inscription cut into the marble was composed by the Director. The manuscript is enclosed in a dust-proof metal box lined with an accenting wine-red velvet which harmonizes with the marble and focuses attention on the lighted manuscript. At the back of the niche is a low step for the convenience of children who will certainly constitute a large proportion of the visitors. So much for the visual asect of the installation. A few words as to its safety.

There is a reinforced concrete slab below and above the niche of which the actual shell is brick and mortar. Air spaces are immediately next to the cavity as insulation to protect it from sudden changes of temperature. It is lined with copper to prevent penetration of any moisture. In the more scientific problems involved we were advised by the faculty of the Department of Physics at Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Richard Cox, Dean of Arts and Sciences, introduced us to Dr. John Strong, Professor of Meteorology and Astrophysics, who undertook the actual construction of what we call the "capsule container" of the manuscript. Dr. Strong is also consultant for the Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company, who presented the specially prepared glass of the "capsule." It is filled with inert helium gas to prevent foxing or discoloration of the paper which might occur if oxygen or moisture were present. In front of the "capsule" is a filter film to stop ultra-violet rays present in daylight and artificial light, which would fade the ink with which the poem is written. This was the gift of the Eastman Kodak Company. And last of all, the entire installation is protected against unauthorized access by the American District Telegraph Service of Alarm.

After a year of careful collaboration in this complex assemblage, we now submit it to your judgment.

MR. RADCLIFFE:

Thank you very much Mr. Scarff. Your reference to changes that occur every 25,000 years gives us no cause for concern, I take it. I believe that we can safely expect this manuscript to remain here for the next 25,000 years. (Laughter)

I shall now call on the Director of the Society to explain the arrangements for the remainder of our program. You all know Mr. James W. Foster.

MR. FOSTER:

In a few moments Senator Radcliffe will escort Mrs. Jenkins to the niche for the actual unveiling. When the chord is struck on the piano the audience will please rise. At the moment of the unveiling The Star-Spangled Banner will be sung by Millicent Kelly; the accompanist will be Crawford Smith. We are indebted to both of them for their participation in this program.

We must ask those in the audience to keep their places till the official party, the officers of the Society and friends of Mrs. Jenkins, and distinguished guests pass through the door and have the opportunity first to view the completed installation. Those in this room will then form a line and pass before the niche, followed by those in the adjoining room. Owing to the limited space we shall have to be patient and allow time for those in the lead to see the manuscript and the other features of the installation.

Mrs. Jenkins will be in the parlor of the Pratt mansion where her friends, members of the Society, and guests may greet her and congratulate her on her great gift.

We have arranged exhibitions for this event in the cases adjacent to the niche where you will see the first printing of The Star-Spangled Banner, one of only two copies extant; the first newspaper printing; the first printing as sheet music, the only known copy; together with portraits and pictures relating to Francis Scott Key. In the Leakin Room we have arranged an exhibition of the silver service presented by the people of Baltimore to Commodore John Rodgers for his part in the defense of Baltimore, and, in compliment to Admiral Hill, a showing of part of the Battleship *Maryland* silver service given by the people of the State. On the second floor in the Key Room you will find the ten portraits of the Key family given two years ago by Mrs. Jenkins. The beautiful flowers which you will enjoy throughout the building are also the gift of Mrs. Jenkins.

The Society has two publications in honor of this event—one which I show you is a facsimile of the National Anthem contained in a folder with a description of the events leading to its writing. Each of these folders is numbered. I take pleasure in presenting Number One to Mrs. Jenkins. (Applause) Others are presented with the Society's compliments to members of the official party. We have also prepared a 32-page pamphlet with a full description of the writing of The Star-Spangled Banner. These publications are available at a modest cost to all who may wish copies.

Senator Radcliffe then escorted Mrs. Jenkins through the standing audience. They were followed by the officers of the Society and invited guests. Proceeding to the adjoining hall, Mrs. Jenkins unveiled the niche while the first stanza of The Star-Spangled Banner was sung. The audience then filed past the niche, and many visited the Key Room and other parts of the building.

THOMAS KEMP, SHIPBUILDER, AND HIS HOME, WADES POINT *

By M. Florence Bourne

SET in a scene of picturesque beauty for which the Eastern Shore is famous, "Wades Point Farm," Talbot County, as viewed from the approach to Claiborne on the Eastern Bay, is a landmark which will be remembered by many who have made the trip from Kent Island in the days of the ferry. At a distance it can be distinguished by its setting in the midst of the tallest trees in that vicinity.[1]

Built of brick in the Georgian style, its high gabled roof and chimneys on either end are reminiscent of much older houses in spite of its wing of Victorian origin which boasts a captain's walk. And well it might have a captain's walk, for this dwelling was built by a master shipbuilder, Thomas Kemp, who designed and built at Fells Point, Baltimore, some of the most famous ships in the War of 1812. It was later enlarged by his son John W. Kemp, who inherited the property and continued the work of his father.

The double deck porches which run the length of the main façade, facing the roadway, have a bracketed cornice supported by four square columns. No doubt the original entrance was a portico similar to that of Compton.[2] Were it stripped of its porches, the lines of Wades Point would be almost identical with the Brice house in Annapolis. However, the first floor windows of Wades Point each contain twenty-four lights, the second floor windows each twenty lights, twelve on the upper sash and eight on the lower, whereas those of the Brice house are fewer in

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[1] The author acknowledges with gratitude assistance received in the writing of this article from the Kemp family at Wades Point, John T. Bayard and Miss Dorothy R. Warner, of the Clerk's Office, Talbot County Court, Easton, Rear Adm. John B. Heffernan (retired), Pastor Leopold W. Bernhard, of Zion Church, and the staffs of the Hall of Records, Enoch Pratt Free Library, and Maryland Historical Society.

[2] See Charles F. C. and James M. Arensberg, "Compton, Talbot County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVIII (Sept., 1953), 215-226.

number. It would have been a simple matter for a man of Kemp"s ability in draftsmanship to adapt any architectural design which pleased his fancy. The double dormer window in the center of the roof was originally single and matched the dormers on either side. Almost unnoticed against the chimney on the west side is a look-out which was used by Kemp to watch, through a telescope, his many ships going up and down the Bay. Kent Point is directly opposite and to the south is Chesapeake Bay. Then, too, many ships came into Eastern Bay on their way to the town of St. Michaels which in those days was a port of call. This little retreat is accessible through a trap door hidden behind a chest in a third floor bedroom.

The central hallway has a door on either end, the far one opening onto an L-shaped porch which, before the wing was added, stretched across the back. The doors to the living room on the left and the dining room on the right are eight-panelled and were made by skilled carpenters as was the trim around the mantel and windows, two on either end, of Greek Revival design so fashionable in 1820. The wide random width floors are of hand pegged yellow pine and are two inches thick. The stair rail is mahogany, the balusters are square, and two cupboards are built under the stairway. Beyond the dining room at a lower level and built of older bricks of a different size is the kitchen which measured eighteen by twenty feet. It was once paved with brick in which there was a huge potato pit. There are two rooms above the kitchen which connect with the second floor of the main house. A small frame extension to the kitchen was added later but is said to have been moved from another location and was possibly originally used as a counting house. It may have been the kitchen of the one and a half story house built by John Leeds, the noted mathematician and astronomer, during the Revolutionary period, which was torn down due to encroaching tides.[3] The foundation of the old house may be seen far out beneath the waters along the shore line, and still further out is the location of the once huge apple and cherry orchards planted by Leeds.

In the hallway of the present house, which Thomas Kemp built after the War of 1812, hangs a copy of the family chart, the original of which has crumbled to bits. The chart dates back to

[3] Johns Leeds (1705-1790); see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 136-137.

the Quaker Robert Kemp who came from Yorkshire, England, and his wife Elizabeth Webb. They married in 1678, resided at "Boulton" in Bay Hundred, Talbot County, and gave the land for the old Bayside Meeting House. They were the great great grandparents of Thomas Kemp, shipbuilder, who was born on February 28, 1779, the first son and fifth child of Thomas Kemp and Rachel Denny,[4] and the grandson of John Kemp and Magdalen Stevens, great aunt of Governor Samuel Stevens. His father signed the "Oath of Fidelity" in 1778, as was required of Quakers at that time.[5]

Thomas Kemp probably came to Baltimore in 1803. In any case we find the first land recorded for him in Baltimore was the northeast corner of Market Street (Broadway) and Lancaster Street, Fells Point,[6] which he purchased on December 7, 1803, from his father-in-law John Horstman, who was formerly of Anne Arundel County. He had married on August 18, 1803, Sophia Horstman,[7] eldest daughter of John Horstman and Elizabeth Riddle.[8] A sampler done by Sophia at the age of twelve, inherited by the writer's family, gives her birth as December 18, 1787. This date coincides with the original records of the Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore. There were three children by this marriage, Thomas H., Elizabeth, and Sophia, the maternal great grandmother of the writer, who married William Haddaway Dawson.

On March 22, 1809, five weeks after the birth of her third child, Sophia, his wife, passed away at the age of "twenty-one years, three months, and four days."[9] One of the verses which she had embroidered on her sampler had been, "Remember Time Will Come When We Must Give Account To God How We On Earth Did Live." Kemp remarried on November 16, 1809, Eliza (Fisher) Doyle, age 21, widow of Thomas Doyle, and daughter

[4] Emerson B. Roberts, "Among the 'Meeters at the Bayside,'" *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIX (1944), 335-344. Talbot Co. Wills. J. P. No. 6, f. 81-84, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[5] Thomas Kemp's father left him a slave named James, stipulating that the slave be freed at age 27. On January 14, 1806, Kemp renounced executorship of his father's will because of the inconvenience of travelling to and from Talbot County.

[6] Baltimore Land Records, W. G. No. 80, ff. 63, Court House, Baltimore.

[7] Zion Luthern Church original records, Baltimore.

[8] Horstman has been erroneously spelled Hartsman and Hauptman. The marriage of Sophia's parents is recorded in "Maryland Marriages, 1777-1804," p. 84, Md. Hist. Soc., and Zion Church Records, p. 387.

[9] Kemp Family Bible, in possession of the family.

of Daniel and Susanna Fischer, members of the Zion Church.[10] The children by this marriage were John W., Louisa, Margaret who died in infancy, Joseph F., Sally Ann, and William Pinkney.[11]

It is not known where Thomas Kemp learned the art of shipbuilding, but it is probable that it was from Impey Dawson in St. Michaels. On coming to Baltimore he may have worked in the shipyard of Joseph Sterett. According to the manuscripts of Thomas Kemp, which are owned by the present Kemps at Wades Point, he went into business for himself about 1803-1804. These consist of journals, ledgers, and diaries and are in his own handwriting. The earliest record which has not been cut or torn from his books begins with June, 1804, "to 200 lb of Spikes left of the *Chesapeak* at 11½ $25.00." He was then twenty-five years old, had been married almost a year, and was living in Baltimore. He was in the process of building the schooner *Thomas and Joseph* [12] with his brother Joseph. In the expenses for this ship he included wharf rent for three months $62.50 and rum for the launch $1.75.

His business in the years 1804-1805 consisted chiefly in making repairs to ships. Captain Thomas Tenant and Isaac McKim were billed $16.35 for a bowsprit for the schooner *Maryland*. Work done on the brig *Samuel* and a squaresail yard for the *Chesapeak* for Isaac McKim cost $6.74. His joiner bill for the schooner *Baltimore* was $8.75. To Henry Craig who later became his biggest customer he charged $3.50 for an anchor for the *Vigilante*, two masts for the schooner *Eclipse* $131.30. Sundry work on the schooner *Nonsuch* for John Conway $31.81. One large cleat and four small ones for the schooner *Ohio* and caulking down hatches of same $1.25.

On July 6, 1805, Kemp purchased property bounded by Fountain, Fleet, and Washington Streets, Fells Point.[13] It was here that he established his shipyards. He purchased his timber from Benjamin Bowen, Josiah Hall, and Henry Hollbrook; his spar work was done by James Cordery and Joseph Robson of Anne Arundel County; beams and carlings were made by Lloyd Johnson; his iron work by Philip Cronmiller; copper spikes and rivets

[10] Zion Lutheran Church Records (copies), Md. Hist. Soc., pp. 15, 423, 426.
[11] Kemp chart, Md. Hist. Soc.
[12] This ship was probably the *Joseph* in 1812, later the *Joseph and Mary*.
[13] Baltimore Land Records W. G. No. 172, ff, 726, Court House, Baltimore.

by John S. Young. Rosin and pitch were purchased from John Stickney.

His ledger of 1805-1807 shows that he built several ships which have been attributed to other builders, and that they were in existence earlier than has been supposed. One was the schooner *Lynx* [14] measuring 99 tons which has been described as having the extreme sharp lines of a Baltimore clipper, in 1806, and the other an " Eastern Shore schooner " which took the name *Maria*, both built for Henry Craig, as was the *Hawk* [15] (Mohawk) measuring 124⅓ tons carpenter's measure at $22 per ton in 1807. The *Eidue*, a brig of 190 tons was built in 1806 for Captain Christopher Deshon, as well as another schooner of 114⅓ tons, no name recorded, which may have been the *Breezio*. Kemp's measurements of tonnage are carpenter's measure and not registered tonnage, therefore many of them are at variance with most reference books. In 1806 Deshon had him remast and reboom the *Cora*, which was reputed to be an extremely fast sailing schooner.

In addition to building Baltimore clippers Kemp made a specialty of making ships faster by adding topmasts, topsail yards, and topgallant yards to catch the wind higher up. In many cases, judging by the amount of lumber used, changes were made in the hulls. No doubt some were converted from one type to another, having extra swinging booms and flying jib booms installed to take every possible advantage of the wind, for speed was a primary factor. In 1806 he rebuilt the stern of the brig *Newton* for Joseph Sterett. Changes were made to the *Enterprise* and the brig *Ida* for Michael McBlair; the *Union* and the schooner *Fanny* for Deshon; and the *Tickler* for James Biays. The *Ida* and the *Fanny* were famous for very fast runs according to Carl Cutler.[16]

By this time he had some two dozen employees who were for the most part carpenters and caulkers. Many were trained to copper sheathe ships' hulls to keep them clean, a practice which had been much used by the English. His most reliable workmen seem to have been Thomas Ashcroft, William Beswick, Johnathan Townsend, Thomas Keithley, Isaac Hooper, Daniel Anthony, Richard Eagon, Joseph Robson, Henry Conley, Richard Miller,

[14] Howard I. Chapelle, *History of the American Sailing Navy* (New York, 1949), pp. 290-291.
[15] He referred to this schooner as the *Mowhawk* on another page.
[16] Carl Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea* (New York, 1930), p. 36.

Edward Mitchel, Toby Williams or Williamson, Benjamin Forenoon, John Bird, Stephen Gott, Perry Barnet, Russell Davis, Henry Neighbors, Basil Mullican, John Fisher, Michael Dawson, and Levin Lavender.

In 1807 Kemp built the brig *Leo*, measuring 244¼ tons for Henry Wilson at $28 per ton, its main distinction being that it was later commanded by George Coggeshall.[17] He also built a pilot boat for William Harrow for $1,000. Five ships with names not mentioned were built for Isaac McKim, Henry Wilson, James Barry, John McKee, and Henry Craig. In the same year he made alterations or repairs to the *Rossie*,[18] *Valona*, *Chesapeak*, *David*, *Spencer*, and *Nimble* for Isaac McKim; to the *Superb*, *Blanchy*, and *Maria* for Henry Craig; and to the *Antoinette*, and the Swedish brig *Experiment* for Henry Wilson.

An interesting feature of his ledger of 1808-1812 is that it is dated backwards; the first part was used as a payroll record book. In February of 1808, after completing a schooner of 146½ tons for John McFadon, Kemp received an order for two gunboats for the United States from John Stricker. They cost $1800 each, plus alterations at $120 each, and copper sheathing at $190 each. Dimensions for these boats were found on the back cover of another ledger, as well as a memorandum of the setting of the schooner *Rossie*.[19] The gunboats were finished in July, and Captain Christopher Deshon ordered a new schooner *Experiment* measuring 108 tons at $22 per ton, which was completed in September. In addition there was a new "schooner brig" of 178½ tons for Henry Wilson, and another of 162 tons for John McKee. In general, substantial payments were made before ships were begun. Repairs or alterations were made to the *Ebo*, *Spirit*, *Lona*, and *Africa* for Henry Wilson; the *Blanchy* received a new mast and boom for Henry Craig; Captain Thomas Tenant had the *Lynx* and *Pocahuntas* in for caulking; while James Bozley, Levi Hollingsworth, and John Skinner each had unidentified ships in for alterations or repairs. Ships which Kemp built usually returned for caulking within six months.

In trying to compare Kemp's records with many reference books

[17] An account of the *Leo's* adventures can be found in E. S. Maclay, *History of American Privateers* (New York, 1899), pp. 350-358.

[18] The *Rossie* captured 20 prizes under the command of Joshua Barney.

[19] See J. P. Cranwell and W. B. Crane, "The Log of the *Rossie*," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXV (1940), 287-291.

the writer found innumerable contradictions in the latter as to dates built, places built, dimensions, and owners, which in themselves would require a book, and make the identification of his unnamed ships an almost impossible task. The newspapers of that period were of little help because Thomas Kemp never advertised his own ships, no doubt because it was against Quaker principles to have one's name published; whereas other shipbuilders readily advertised their ships as they were built.

In the beginning of 1809 Kemp had completed the schooner *Aut* for Charles Kalkman; the new brig *Female* had received a new mast, steering sail, and swinging booms and yards for James Reed; Isaac McKim had brought the *Nimble* in for repairs; there had been a months work on a Spanish brig for Thomas Tenant; and Deshon had brought in the Swedish schooner *Blossom* for a new mast and caulking. A lull in his shipbuilding for several months of 1809 can perhaps be attributed to the death of his first wife. In August James Taylor and Curtis purchased for $900 a pilot boat schooner which might have been the *Wasp*, Taylor having commanded that vessel and Curtis having been one of the owners. In October they purchased another vessel of 100 tons at $19 per ton which may have been the sister ship *Hornet*. H. Craig and Hudson had the schooner *Myrton* in for a new mast and caulking.

One of the most exciting records found was his building of the famous privateer schooner *Comet*.[20] He recorded "68 ft. keel, 23 ft. beam, 10 ft. hold, measuring 164 60/95 tons at $22 per ton." She was built for Captain William Furlong who made payments of $1,505, but Captain Thorndike Chase paid for the balance in 1810, his share being a little more than half. During the War of 1812, on her third voyage, she captured twenty enemy vessels under the command of Captain Thomas Boyle, who was described by the English as a "crazy American privateersman who wouldn't take no for an answer."[21]

This was followed by a schooner of 189 91/95 tons for Hollins & McBlair, and another of 79 50/95 tons [*Leopard?*] for P. A. G[u]estier. In October, 1810, he began the brig *Milo* measuring

[20] A MSS journal of the *Comet* for the years 1812-1813 is in the Md. Hist. Soc. Library.

[21] J. P. Cranwell and W. B. Crane, *Men of Marque* (New York, 1940), pp. 132, 150.

230 34/95 tons at $29 per ton for James Williams, extreme length 91 feet 1½ inches, beam 25 feet, hold 11½ feet.[22] In November the ship *Wabash* was built measuring 262½ tons at $30 per ton for Smith & Buchanan, and a pilot boat for William Pitt for $1200. His records of 1811 show that Captain Deal commanded the *Wabash.* On March 2, 1810, Kemp purchased a schooner from Impey Dawson of St. Michaels, and in October a new brig built by Dawson measuring 230 tons to which Kemp added the masts and spars, and named it the *Dawson & Kemp.* These were extremely elaborate, both main and fore masts carrying royal yards. Kemp had previously masted another schooner built by Impey Dawson which he bought in 1807 [*Brutus?*].[23] Kemp is known to have owned or partly owned the *Brutus*, *Chasseur*, *Flight*, *Manleus*, and *Wasp.* Repairs to ships in 1810 were numerous although the only name given was the *Minerva* for the merchant firm of Hollins & McBlair. There were two new customers, John Bouldin and Joshua Willis.

Thus far the hold of Kemp's ships had not exceeded ten feet two inches, except in the *Milo*, showing that he sacrificed depth for speed. In 1811 he built the schooner *Extreme* for Captain Robert Hambleton, no doubt named for its dimensions, length of keel 65′ 6″, beam 22′ 3″, hold 10 feet, measuring 122⅓ tons at $24 per ton. For [Samuel] Smith & Buchanan he built the *Marmion* measuring 244 tons, a pilot boat for William Pitt at $900. and a small one for Joseph Butler at $600. The schooner *Arrow* measuring 180 74/95 tons was built for Hollins & McBlair at $25 per ton. This schooner had very long spars and a very sharp hull. His largest ship was the *Emporer of Russia* for Charles F. Kalkman, which measured 430 tons at $30 per ton. In the same year changes were made in the masts and spars of the *Rossie* for Isaac McKim, the *Leopard* for Mr. G[u]estier, and to the *Susana*, *Adriana*, *Kemp*, and *Milo* in 1811. This being the first mention of the *Kemp* the writer wonders if this is the former *Dawson & Kemp* after remodelling. In 1811 the *Kemp* was owned by Hollins & McBlair.

Another ship which has been credited elsewhere is the *Grecian*

[22] After the War of 1812 the *Milo* was the first ship to sail for and return from England. Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[23] The *Brutus* was for sale in April, 1807. See *Federal Gazette*, Apr. 23, 1807, p. 3, col. 4. Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, Appendix A.

(a name possibly inspired by the Greek revival), which Kemp built in 1812 for Isaac McKim, measuring 71 ft. keel, 23½ ft. beam, 10 ft. 8 inch hold, measuring 187¼ tons at $23 per ton. In addition changes were made to the masts and spars of the *Marmion* and the *Rolla* for William Hollins, and to the *Express.*

The *Chasseur*, popularly nicknamed the "pride of Baltimore," was designed by Kemp himself and launched on December 12, 1812.[24] Undoubtedly his masterpiece, she was one of the fastest sailing ships of all time and one of the most renowned privateers in history.[25] Under the command of Captain William Wade she captured eleven enemy vessels, and under Thomas Boyle, her next commander, twenty-three.[26] It was from this ship that Boyle proclaimed a blockade of Great Britain, sending a proclamation to that effect to Lloyd's (of London) Coffee House, where it was posted. Boyle and the *Comet* had been considered the epitome of privateering, but Boyle and the *Chasseur* were its apotheosis. One can imagine Kemp's pride when at the close of the war thousands of citizens turned out to cheer the *Chasseur* as Boyle brought her past Fort McHenry.[27]

The U. S. S. *Erie* and U. S. S. *Ontario* were built under contract with the United States Navy Department as sloops of war, by government specifications, one to be delivered by August 15, 1813, at Baltimore, and the other by October 25, 1813, at Baltimore, "to be built of the best Chesapeake Bay materials, cut when the sap was down." The mould for the latter, a little different in form, was furnished by the Navy Yard to "save [Mr. Kemp] much trouble and labor." These ships cost $25,461.05 apiece. The United States furnished sufficient guard for the protection of the shipyard during their construction. The figureheads for these two vessels were carved by William Garnds for $80. During this time Kemp's payroll exceeded $1,000 a week.

Anticipating a return to the Eastern Shore after the war, Kemp purchased on December 15, 1813, "Wades Point" [28] and "Hat-

[24] See *Federal Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1812.

[25] Hamilton Owens, *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* (Garden City, N. Y., 1941), p. 177, and Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 226. The log of a voyage of the *Chasseur* in 1814-1815 was printed in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, I (1906), 168-180, 218-240.

[26] Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 259. It is interesting to note that Boyle was married in Zion Church and his children were christened there. Perhaps this is where Kemp and Boyle first met.

[28] Talbot County Land Records, Liber J. L. No. 36, ff. 180.

ton" from Colonel Hugh Auld, Jr., for $7,000. At the time of purchase Kemp billed Colonel Auld:

To Ferryage from Haddaways [wharf] to Annapolis....	$1.75
To Tavern Bill at Annapolis.....	.90
To passage in Stage from Annapolis to Baltimore.....	3.00

This was four months after the British attack upon the fort at the mouth of the St. Michaels River [29] and the landing of the British from barges at Wades Point (temporarily known as Colonel Auld's Point) in their attempted invasion of St. Michaels.[30] One of the objects of this invasion was to clean out the numerous shipyards in that vicinity.[31] Several houses including Wades Point had been riddled with bullets, and there was much blood along the shore line, where now videttes or sentries were stationed. Despite the blockade of the Chesapeake Bay there was a certain amount of travel back and forth. Colonel Auld, who was in command of the troops in Bay Hundred, used the turret of Wades Point, which had been built by John Leeds the astronomer, as a spy-tower. Auld had inherited the property from his grandparents, Edward and Sarah Auld, who had purchased it from John Leeds Bozman, grandson of John Leeds. Wades Point had been originally patented to Zachary Wade in 1658 for 400 acres.[32] Hatton, which adjoined Wades Point to the south, had been originally patented to William Hatton in the same year for 500 acres.[33] The two tracts, when purchased by Thomas Kemp, amounted to 236⅝ acres more or less, showing to what extent the land had been sold or washed away.

Although Wades Point was in Kemp's possession at the end of 1813, we find him at the beginning of the new year under contract to the United States Government to furnish the masts and spars of the frigate *Java*. This vessel was later commanded by Oliver H. Perry.[34] Specifications were furnished by the government, and payments were made by James Beatty, Navy Agent,

[29] Map of Talbot County (1858), shows the location of this fort.

[30] Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), II, 169, 173. An interesting account of the escape of English sailors from one of the barges and an amusing encounter of Admiral Cockburn with one of the Kemp children is given in *ibid.*, II, 174-175.

[31] B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* (New York, 1868), p. 944.

[32] Talbot Co. Rent Rolls, p. 1, Calvert Papers No. 881, Md. Hist. Soc.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 57.

[34] Lossing, *op. cit.*, p. 521 n.; *D. A. B.*, XIV, 490-492.

to the amount of $4,953.86, according to Kemp's journal of 1814-1815. This journal shows also that he built for the United States Flotilla commanded by Captain Joshua Barney one 50-foot barge and two 75-foot barges. Pumps for the barges were made by Robert Milholland and cost $4.25 each. The 75-foot barges cost $2350 each, and the government was still paying for them in 1815, long after Barney had ordered them sunk in order to prevent their being captured by the British prior to the battle of Bladensburg and their invasion of Washington.[35]

Another entry in this journal reveals that Kemp built the sloop *David Porter* measuring 18½ tons at $24 per ton early in 1814. The sails for this sloop were made by James Corner, and she was sold to Richard Jones on June 21, 1814, for $1,050 plus interest on Jones' note. Kemp paid $3.50 for a compass for this sloop. On March 15, 1814, Kemp paid William Denny $50 for finishing outside Joiners work on the schooner *Perry*. This would signify that the *Perry* was built in Kemp's shipyard.

On April 27 a new schooner for Fulford and Clopper measuring 122½ tons at $25 per ton was recorded. On May 26 a new schooner measuring 124 63/95 tons at $23.50 per ton was recorded for Pearl Durkee, who had commanded the *Chasseur* prior to Wade and Boyle. On the same day Lemuel Taylor paid a bill on the schooner *Surprise* which had been rendered in March amounting to $115.37.[36] Because a ledger is missing the previous transactions concerning this and other ships are not available.

Recorded in the journal with the ship transactions are innumerable improvements to an estate of 170 acres in Baltimore called "Lovely Green" which Kemp purchased on May 10, 1814, from the estate of Nicholas Hopkins.[37]

On August 9 Smith & Buchanan were billed for outfits for the ship *Adriana*, amounting to $1448.99. On September 2 Andrew Clopper, one of the biggest ship owners, borrowed Kemp's carpenters "for three days cutting apart two ships and one brig for the purpose of sinking." All Baltimore was preparing for a big onslaught from the British, and Kemp lent carpenters to

[35] A picture of the barges may be seen in Hulbert Footner, *Sailor of Fortune* (New York, 1940), opp. p. 265.

[36] A watercolor of the *Surprise* hangs in the Maritime Museum of the Maryland Historical Society; a reproduction is in Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 257. The rigging is typical of Kemp's work.

[37] Kemp's MSS; also Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. 142.

work on the batteries. In addition he had a stone wall built around his barn at Lovely Green. On September 29 John Darnell was billed for outfits of the ships *Chesapeake* and *Thomas Wilson*, $868.86. It was on the ship *Chesapeake* that Captain James Lawrence had died, crying, "Don't give up the ship!" [38] This may account for the six stanza poem entitled, "Lawrence the Brave" in the back of one of Kemp's ledgers, which appears to be a manuscript, but may have been copied by him.

On October 26 Richard Jones was billed $218.76 for cordage, paint, outfits, and sails for the sloop *Caroline* which was formerly owned by Kemp's brother-in-law Greenberry Griffin.[39] On November 21 Kemp sold to Russell Killburn from the "Estate of Impey Dawson," the hull of a new schooner which had been moored to the wharf of James and Joseph Biays for over a year for $4,000. This he refers to as "Eastern Shore Schooner." Kemp received a commission of $60 and had hired a vendue crier for $10 to advertise the schooner.

Kemp's banking transactions were conducted with the Marine Bank and the Mechanics Bank. During the war, in addition to previous sources of supply he bought lumber from Hall & White, Brown & Biays, William Flannigan, and the A. & J. Cross Company; cordage from Christoher Chapman, bolt iron from William Matthews & Co., and blacksmith work by Phillips & Winslow, and Smith & Ramsay, although Cronmiller did the work for the *Erie* and *Ontario*. These vessels are recorded as having had a composition metal substituted for iron, and a large amount of mahogany in place of oak. Alterations were made to both ships over and above the original contract. Whereas these large warships could not pass the British blockade, the small privateers were able to slip past under cover of darkness, or waited for bad weather to shield them.

On December 8 William McDonald & Son were billed $1,797.33 for repairs of the sloop *Sarah*. Benjamin Baker was billed for work on the schooner *Eagle*. The *Patapsco*, which had been loaned to the government by Fulford and Clopper, was used for a time by the Navy Agent, James Beatty. For this reason Kemp made a small deduction in her bill. Fulford & Clopper

[38] Francis F. Beirne, *The War of 1812* (New York, 1949), pp. 183-189.

[39] His records do not state whether or not he built her. The missing book is dated from 1812 to 1814.

also owned the ship *Henry Clay*; her caulking bill amounted to $254.29.

In January, 1815, Kemp made alterations to the U. S. S. *Erie*. On February 25 Lemuel Taylor was billed $126.34 for outfits for the schooner *Saranac*. She was the last of the privateers to sail from Baltimore during the war. On March 25 John Craig was billed $3,775 for hull, masts, and spars of a new schooner of the following dimensions: 65 ft. keel, 22 ft. 10 inch beam, 9 ft. 8 inch hold, measuring 151 tons at $25 per ton.[40]

The method by which Kemp arrived at tonnage (carpenter's measure) may be seen in the following dimensions of the U. S. S. *Erie:*

> One hundred and Seventeen feet eleven inches upon the Gun Deck, Ninety seven feet six inches Keel for Tonnage measuring from one foot before the forward perpendicular, and along the base line to the front of the rabbit of the part, deducting three fifths of the moulded breadth of beam, which is thirty one feet six inches, then the moulded breadth multiplied into the length of Keel for Tonnage, that product multiplied by half the moulded breadth of beam, and that product divided by ninety five will give Five Hundred and nine Tons 21/95 Carpenters measure, by which said Builder is to be paid Fifty Dollars per ton.

After the close of the war, Kemp arranged to have his brother-in-law John Bruff of Talbott County to see to the repairs of Wades Point and to raise the barn. The damages must have been considerable as his accounts show that scantling, 6,000 feet of plank, 6,000 shingles, and 150 lbs. of nails were shipped down from Baltimore. Kemp sent down a crew of his own workmen, paying their board with Bruff. Also he sent down flour, pork, oats, sugar, and coffee for the workmen, and shovels and spades to work the farm. Fences were rebuilt, a new well was sunk, and the harvest gathered in before he and his family were ready to move. After settling his affairs and renting his several properties,[41] he employed Captain James Martin to move his family and

[40] See W. D. Hoyt, Jr., "Logs and Papers of Baltimore Privateers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV (1939), 165-174, for a description of logs of privateers in the Maryland Historical Society.

[41] Two houses on the west side of Pratt Street Bridge known as "The Liffey." Baltimore land records W. G. No. 137, ff. 51-54. Rented to Benjamin Blackiston and Salvadore Lowry. Another property owned by Kemp was "Friends Discovery," 170 acres, which he purchased on June 13, 1815, Baltimore Land Records W. G. 132, f. 408, and sold to Isaac McCoy and Andrew McCoy on May 27, 1817, W. G. 146, ff. 68.

furnishings down on the sloop *Seagull*, which Kemp had built for Martin after the war. The moving required five weeks, from November 5 to December 15, 1816, for which Martin was credited $50 as part payment on the sloop. Kemp had several business transactions with Johns Hopkins when the latter, at 21, was getting a start in business in Baltimore. Two days (December 13) before the move was completed, Hopkins paid $30 for a " fodder house."

Thus returned Thomas Kemp to Bay Hundred, Talbot County, where he lived for three years in the house built by Leeds before starting his new house which still stands and in which his descendants now live. Within two weeks of moving down, his first project had been the schooling of his children, rounding up the children of his neighbors, many of whom were his relatives, and engaging John M. Needles to teach them, paying for Needles' board with Captain Thomas Frazier, which was $12 a month when well and $16 a month while sick. Kemp had Needles make his children two writing benches which leads the writer to believe that he was the well educated Baltimore cabinet maker who was probably temporarily in one of his many unfortunate circumstances.[42] Also, the writer observed some original pieces of Needles' furniture still in use at Wades Point, no doubt some which were brought down on the sloop *Seagull*. Apparently Needles went back to the furniture business before long, because two years later Kemp sent his three oldest children to Dr. Slater's School for six months and boarded Dr. Slater himself.

In addition to the orchards of cherries, apples, and pears already there, he started a new orchard of 120 apple trees at twenty cents each, which he purchased from Captain Frazier for the lower farm (Hatton). He and his colored man Jim, whom he paid fifty cents a day, replanted young apple and cherry tree seedlings which had sprung up when the farm was unoccupied. He paid his bills and wages with the products of his farm, supplemented by cash. He bartered frequently, as shown by his exchange of cypress shingles for locust posts. His laborers manufactured bricks which sold for five to nine dollars per thousand, depending on the quality. His ledger of 1815-1824 shows that William Hambleton purchased 10,000 bricks in 1817. These were made from

[42] Lecture, February 23, 1954, at Maryland Historical Society by Charles F. Montgomery, entitled " John Needles, Baltimore Cabinetmaker, and Some Examples of His Work."

clay on the Kemp property. His shoemaker, Robert Cummings, accepted hides in exchange for shoes. He sold innumerable adzes and axes of the Willard and Cooper type, buying his iron from Isaac Brooks at four cents a pound. He had brought down from Baltimore for John Kemp, Sr., " one tin plate stove for the friend's meeting house $15."

Owing to the responsibilities of running a farm and to a decreased demand for new vessels, his shipbuilding amounted to very little. The *Seagull* was reclaimed and resold to James Davis, Jr., in 1817, and again to Benjamin Horney in 1819. A schooner for George Williams in 1818, and another for Henry Payson & Company in 1819, for which he had trouble obtaining copper spikes, were all he could handle. Other orders he turned over to his brother Joseph. On February 1, 1819, he wrote " This day agreed with Benjamin Lowry to act overseer on my farm at home for which I am to pay him Eighty Dollars for the year and one Dollar per month to get his working and mending done."

On December 31, 1818, he wrote to his auctioneers in Baltimore:

> Since I was in Baltimore I have determined to sell my house on Fountain Street Fells Point and now occupied by Mr. George Gardner ship wright at about 12 Dollars per month Rent. You will find by Referring to the Deed accompanying this letter that the lot fronts thirty two feet on two Streets that is fountain and Fleet Streets, subject to 10 shillings Ground Rent on each Street. It has erected on it a Very Comfortable and Roomy two story frame Dwelling house, a good brick Kitchen and Smoke house, A large work shop and very good counting house. It is my wish Gentlemen that you sell it—advertising it in the Patriot and Federal Gazette papers . . . and Oblige your Humble Servant
>
> Thos. Kemp

He determined to build another house, not only because of his growing family, but because the ever encroaching tides were sweeping away many acres of his property. He made a trip to Annapolis via Haddaway's ferry to study the architecture there. On January 1, 1820, he began a diary, recording the daily weather and the preparations for beginning the new house, and other events in much the style of a ship's captain writing his log, usually ending each day with " No other remarkable occurrance." As he wanted his timber to be well seasoned the early part of the year was spent in preparation. He described the " hands cutting

pine cord wood for the purpose of burning bricks," "felling a cedar for door and window sills," and "sawyers cutting planks." The scantlings and laths were all hand hewn by his Negro man Jim, who also turned up clay for the brickmakers. While awaiting suitable weather Kemp collected twigs from his various fruit trees, grafting pears, cherries, and apples, so they would grow on the same trees. Jim planted "cotton apples" along the Negro burying ground fence. Kemp was fond of duck shooting, and he recorded the number of ducks and geese shot each day. Often he went seine hauling with his men, who sold the fish at fifty cents a bushel. Among the products of his farm were flax, rye, wheat, corn, sheep's wool, feathers, flour, potatoes, and apple brandy, and cider. In one year 5,500 gallons of cider were made, much of which was sold.

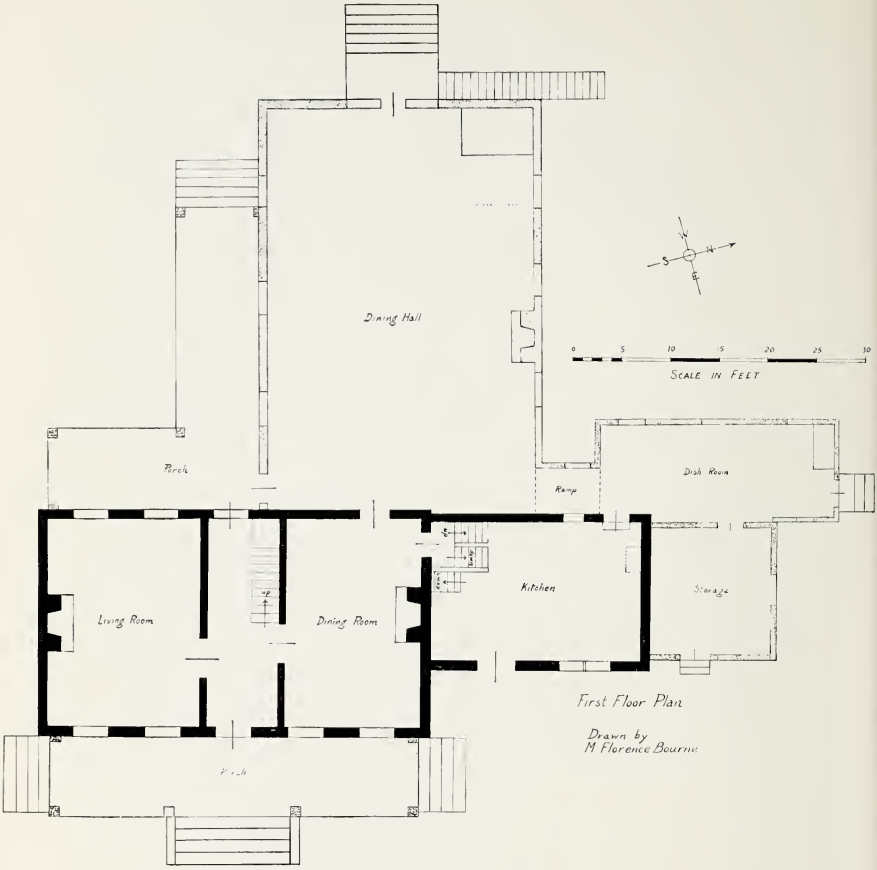
As soon as there was "fine growing weather" the hands commenced brick-making. A brick shed was built, and "all hands helped to set the lime kiln," which was kept burning night and day, the hands attending it and hauling firewood, until a total of 100,000 bricks were made. Kemp chose a site much further removed from the shore. The lime kiln was slacked and hauled back to the barn, the cellar was dug and mortar was mixed. The bricklayers and their crew laid the foundation and walls in record time; Mark Sewell who had helped with Kemp's house in Baltimore, laying half the bricks and Daniel Kenny the other half.[43] The sawyer's work was divided between James Fairbank and Thomas Cooper. William Skinner was engaged to make window sashes, carve the wood-work and trim, and help lay the floors of hand pegged yellow pine. The roof shingles were "two feet long and uncommonly wide." Skinner helped glaze the windows, and Jim helped with the painting.

Before the house was completed Kemp made plans for a new school house. He mentions having gone to Oxford "to see the Lancasterian school house in that neighborhood." After preparing the lumber and joists the land was surveyed. The school house grounds were laid out February 20, 1821. The deed was executed by Kemp August 18, 1821, at the school house.

Kemp's family had begun moving into the new house the day before. As soon as the old house had been emptied of its con-

[43] In 1811 Mark Sewell had made 130,000 bricks at $3 per thousand for Kemp's house in Baltimore.

"WADES POINT" FROM THE AIR.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN. ORIGINAL HOUSE IN BLACK.

tents, all hands were employed pulling down the old house and cleaning the bricks which were to be used to build the kitchen of the new home. No doubt Kemp would have had more bricks manufactured except for the fact that his kiln was destroyed in a fire when the barn in which it was stored was ignited by "Daniel Haddaway's son shooting at rats." This explains why the bricks of the kitchen are older than those of the main house. The old foundation was filled in.

Kemp lost no time getting scholars for the new school and succeeded in obtaining the following subscribers beside himself: Francis Wrightson, Wrightson Lowe, Captain James Dawson, James McDaniel, William Hambleton, James M. Hopkins, John Bruff, William Wrightson, Joseph Bruff, Francis Kersey, James Caulk, and Thomas Bridges. The school opened September 12, 1821. On the following Sunday Kemp recorded that Parson Spencer preached at the school house. During the building of the house Kemp's daughter Sophia had been sent to school in Baltimore for several months, Mrs. Kemp going up to fetch her herself.

On March 13, 1821, he wrote in his diary that he had qualified as magistrate, which so pleased him that his handwriting became noticeably larger and heavier. Not since his barn burned down had his excitement so affected his handwriting.

Probably the last schooner built by Kemp was the one he and Joseph Robson built together in 1822 which they named the *K & R.* Kemp recorded having drawn a draft for a sloop for Edward Lloyd, but this was turned over to his brother Joseph to build. He discontinued keeping his diary on November 26, 1821, and his last ledger entry was February 27, 1824. In his will of January 19, 1824, he bequeathed to his son Thomas H. Kemp his plantation in Bay Hundred known as "Miles End," "Bolton's Addition," and "Wolfs Harbour," adjoining the land of John Kemp, Robert Lambdin, and others.[44] He gave "unto my son John Kemp my plantation where I now reside called by the name Wades Point and Hatton . . . ," and he provided for his widow and his other children.

He died on March 3, 1824, at the age of forty-five and was buried on the highest knoll of Wades Point beside Colonel Hugh

[44] Talbot County Will J. P. No. 8, ff. 213-218, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Auld who had been buried there during the building of the house. Colonel Auld's remains have since been removed to the Arlington Cemetery in Washington.

The house built by Thomas Kemp, as inherited by his son John W. Kemp was a two story house, according to the diary of John in 1841. On January 1 of that year he wrote:

> My family consists of myself, wife & daughter, brother William, and Mr. Adams, Teacher, whites;—and eight head of blacks—my stock consists of 6 head of Horses, 2 Mules, 15 head of Cattle, 30 head of Hogs, and 19 head of Sheep, of Poultry, 2 Peafowls, 5 Turkeys, 60 Chickens, 18 Geese, and 16 Ducks—Farming Implements of various numbers—Improvements, as it respects buildings, a two story brick dwelling house, a brick kitchen, a small frame office,[45] a meat house, a turkey house, a hen house, a quarter, a carriage house, a tool house, a large corn house, and a very large barn and stables underneath, my farm is laid off in four fields of about 65,000 corn hills, and 3 lots of about 8,000 hills apiece, one an orchard of about 250 trees—

It was John who added the wing on the bay side and the porches. To distinguish himself from other John Kemps, he had the letter W. inserted into his name. As both he and his cousin John had wives named Sarah, and both attended the Bayside Meeting House, it is difficult to know which Sarah it was who "sat meeting alone" after all others had abandoned the Bayside.[46] John's account of the fire at the Bayside Meeting House in 1844, its repair, and the building of the new meeting house which was named Asbury Chapel, are all in his diary, which also contains daily accounts of the weather. His son Joseph Oliver Kemp who inherited the house in 1876, enlarged the wing in 1898, and made it into a three story house. The roof of the wing boasts a captain's walk and is accessible by a stairway from the third floor hall. This was a favorite spot on a summer's evening and many a fair lady has been courted there. Until 1918 a cupola encircled by benches afforded a place to sit and enjoy the view. At present Wades Point is operated as a summer resort.

For decades the story of Wades Point and its builder was largely forgotten except by the family.[47] Mrs. N. J. (Louise

[45] It is family tradition that the frame office was moved from Baltimore on a barge and was the one used by Thomas Kemp in his shipyard.

[46] Roberts, *op. cit.*, 335.

[47] See, however, Emma Price, "Chronicle of Wades Point, McDaniel," in the Easton *Star-Democrat*, June 7, 1946.

Kemp) Wyeth when a little girl found hidden under the porch the manuscript records which provided the basis for this article. The present owners are Kemp's great-grandchildren, D. Earle Kemp, Miss Helen Dawson Kemp, Mrs. Eleanor Kemp Mowbray, Mrs. Kathryn Kemp Brittingham, and Mrs. Wyeth. The house continues to serve and delight not only the owners but their children and grandchildren, the fifth and sixth Kemp generations at Wades Point.

LAFAYETTE'S VISIT IN FREDERICK, 1824*

By Dorothy Mackay Quynn

THE public library of Frederick possesses a letter written by the Marquis de Lafayette, accepting an invitation to visit Frederick, and confirming the date of his arrival. It was written from Baltimore on December 24, 1824. On the opposite side of the page someone has copied the text of the invitation to which this was a reply. The time of the Marquis' arrival had been uncertain for some weeks, but he finally appeared on December 29 and remained until the morning of December 31. These two days form a chapter in Frederick history which was very vivid in the minds of the older inhabitants some forty or fifty years ago, when there were still living, people who remembered the visit or participated in the celebrations themselves.

In response to an official invitation that he be the guest of the nation whose independence he had helped to win, the Marquis landed in New York on August 15, 1824. From the moment of his arrival the country went wild with enthusiasm. Everyone wanted to entertain him, and many of them succeeded in doing so. The Frederick papers kept in touch with his travels from the day he landed. On August 28 a paper published an elaborate description of his uniforms.[1] On September 25 an article appeared telling of his naturalization, years before, as a citizen of Maryland, and discussing some of the plans for welcoming him when he should arrive within the limits of the state.[2] On October 9 there was a story[3] about the children in a New Jersey town who were collect-

* Paper read before the Frederick County Historical Society, Jan. 20, 1953. While this paper is based on original material, it should be noted that the following two secondary accounts are available: J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), II, 554-555, and T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County* (Hagerstown, 1910), I, 182-185.

[1] *Political Intelligencer or Republican Gazette*, Aug. 28, 1824.

[2] *Pol. Int.*, Sept. 25, 1824. (Lafayette was naturalized by *Laws of Md.*, 1784, Chap. XII.)

[3] *Pol. Int.*, Oct. 9, 1824.

ing money to present to the Marquis a membership in the American Bible Society, unaware, we may assume, of the strong Protestant flavor of this organization, and ignoring the fact that Lafayette, nominally a Roman Catholic, was actually indifferent to religion.

On September 18 about sixty persons gathered at Talbott's Tavern to plan for his reception.[4] Committees were appointed and general plans decided upon. During the next weeks there were reports of many meetings, and about the first of December, as the great day approached, various neighborhoods talked of local displays. On December 4 this notice appeared: [5]

HUZZA! for Paris.

All those citizens residing in the part of Frederick City called Paris, favorable to erecting an Arch at the corner of Gay and Market Streets in honor of General Lafayette, are requested to meet at the tavern of M. E. Bartgis this evening at 7 o'clock, for the purpose of appointing a committee to superintend the erecting of said Arch. (signed) A citizen of Paris.

On December 1 a notice had appeared in the *Fredericktown Herald*:

BUNKER'S HILL.

As all other sections of our city are doing something to honor General Lafayette, the people of the hill, though at the eleventh hour, have determined to manifest their respect for the Nation's Guest by a grand elevated transparency. Our apology for not doing more is that the hill abounds in widows and consequently our means are small.

Although tradition [6] describes the city in a state of feverish preparation, " enammelled with triumphal arches," the streets and housetops crowded with ladies bearing wreaths, garlands, roses, and flags, we have no authentic contemporary account which gives much detail. The diary of Jacob Engelbrecht [7] reports the con-

[4] *Pol. Int.*, Sept. 18, 1824.

[5] *Pol. Int.*, Dec. 4, 1824.

[6] A supposed eye-witness account which survives some tests of authenticity, is in the possession of a descendant of the McPherson family, Barbara Dennis Avirett, of Baltimore. This is a newspaper clipping, unfortunately without date. It gives a detailed description of the decoration of the town and of some of the events. We are grateful to Mrs. Avirett for sending us notes from it.

[7] Jacob Engelbrecht's diary, which consists of seven volumes of manuscript entries, is the only contemporary account of any phase of the visit which we have found outside the newspapers. We are greatly indebted to his grandson, Jacob Engelbrecht, and the latter's daughter and son for allowing us to consult this invaluable family treasure. Engelbrecht wrote in his diary on the morning of Dec. 30, and again on the following morning. On both occasions he mentioned the events he described as having

struction of two arches, one at the corner of Market and Patrick, and one at Fifth and Market streets. This is confirmed by a newspaper reference [8] to the "two beautiful arches erected by the voluntary exertions of the respectable body of mechanics whose alacrity and patriotism entitle them to much praise." There was a reviewing stand, apparently on Market street near Fifth, and there was something of this sort at the Court House where ceremonies were scheduled. The center for the social functions was to be Talbott's Tavern in Patrick street.[9] This was considered the most impressive of the local hostelries. It was called the "Sign of the Golden Fleece" and had just been renovated. An announcement of November 13,[10] which speaks of it as the stage office, reports that Talbott had "greatly improved his establishment. His bar shall at all times be supplied with licquors carefully selected by the most approved judges, his table shall be spread with whatever of delicacies the market may afford," He had opened a second building as a "Beer and port cellar." The Marquis was not to stay at Talbott's. He was to be put up by Colonel John McPherson, at whose "mansion . . . every preparation of elegant and generous hospitality awaited his enjoyment." [11]

Tradition says that Lafayette entered Frederick by way of the Jug Bridge. It cannot be ignored, in view of the fact that within the lifetime of many middle-aged citizens of Frederick, there were living, at the turn of the century, older relatives and friends who had seen Lafayette in their childhood. These people always said that he came by the Jug Bridge. On the other hand, several newspapers say that he entered from the south end of Market street.[12] One paper,[13] published four days before his arrival and giving the program for his visit, says that he was to arrive at the Bridge, and proceed along Patrick street to Market. This confusion will be discussed below. Suffice it to say here that the Jug Bridge theory is

happened a few moments previously. (A microfilm copy of the diary is now in library of Md. Hist. Soc.)

[8] *Fredericktown Herald*, Jan. 1, 1825; *Reservoir and Public Reflector*, Jan. 3, 1825; *Pol. Int.*, Nov. 27, 1814.

[9] *Engelbrecht Diary*, Dec. 30, 1824; *Pol. Int.*, Oct. 13, 30; *Fred. Her.*, Oct. 30, Dec. 13, 25, and Jan. 1, 1925.

[10] *Pol. Int.*, Nov. 13; *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, Jan. 1.

[11] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825. (For a description of the McPherson house, see Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., "Court Square, Frederick," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII [June, 1952], 113 ff.)

[12] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

[13] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.

confirmed by the fact that the Board of Managers of the Baltimore Turnpike had to be approached in order to allow the military and officials to use it free of tolls on this occasion.[14] The party must therefore have come by the Baltimore Turnpike and the Jug Bridge.

A deputation went to the county line to meet the Marquis. It included "Judge Shriver, William Goldsborough, Colonel John Ritchie, Captain Henry Steiner, and Major Henry Kuhn."[15] Lafayette's party included his son, George Washington Lafayette, his secretary, Auguste Levasseur, Captain Jesse D. Elliot, an American naval officer, and John Barney,[16] brother of Joshua Barney and proprietor of the tavern where Lafayette had stopped in Baltimore. They arrived quite late, possibly because of a change of plans. Instead of coming from Annapolis to Frederick, they had returned to Baltimore December 26 to December 29, in order to participate in a Masonic celebration.[17] I have been unable to discover how they travelled. Tradition says they came by stage to the station near the Monocacy bridge.[18]

Ceremonies of welcome took place at the bridge. The Marquis had been expected about noon, and various military organizations had been ordered to be at their stations at eleven A. M.[19] He actually turned up between three and four in the afternoon and was met at the bridge by a delegation which included the local Member of Congress, the local members of the House of Delegates, the Mayor of Frederick, and other officials.[20] Lafayette replied to "several addresses of congratulation"[21] after which the party were hurried into the carriages which had been sent to bring them into Frederick. It was reported that,[22]

> The general ascended an elegant barouche (for which the committee are indebted to the polite attention of Mr John Cockey) drawn by four beautiful black horses, richly harnassed, and attended by two postillions

[14] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 13, 1824.
[15] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.
[16] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.
[17] *Niles Register*, Jan. 1, 1825.
[18] Avirett notes.
[19] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.
[20] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824. (The Congressman was Henry R. Warfield; the delegates Henry Kemp, Joseph M. Cromwell, Samuel Barnes, and William P. Farquhar; and the mayor John L. Harding.)
[21] There are extant in Frederick later copies of several speeches of welcome said to have been delivered at the Jug Bridge, including one by Judge Shriver and one by George Baer. There is no authentic record of such speeches. Both gentlemen may have come with speeches in their pockets which they were unable to deliver because of the lateness of the hour.
[22] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

and four grooms, in white dress with blue sashes. His son and secretary were conducted to a barouche and two, and the procession under the direction of Col. Steiner, chief marshal, with five assistants. marshals, with blue sashes and maces, moved in handsome style to the city of Frederick. The escort of the general consisted of several companies of horse, finely mounted and equipped, a band of revolutionary soldiers. . . . It was remarked with great propriety that this was the finest squadron of horse which had attended him in this state.

It had been arranged that a detachment of artillery [23] be stationed at the bridge to fire three guns to announce the approach of the party. The rest of the corps was to be on Barracks Hill, now occupied by the State School for the Deaf. Upon hearing the first guns, they were to fire " thirteen rounds from the large gun and take their stations in the line." The vestries of the churches had all been asked to arrange to have the church bells rung from the time the first gun was heard until the general had entered the town.[24]

Whether or not it was a last-minute arrangement, the route taken by the procession seems to have been from the Jug Bridge to the Barracks Hill, and then down South Market street into the town. This is confirmed by the order mentioned above, that the artillery on the Barracks Hill should join the procession after firing thirteen shots. It is likewise confirmed by two newspaper accounts both of which speak of his entering at the south end of Market street, to pass down to the north end of the same street.[25] If the original plan was to proceed directly along Patrick street, why was the change made, and how did the procession get to the Barracks Hill?

The change may have been due to the need for lengthening the line of march to permit more spectators. Engelbrecht reported six to eight thousand visitors [26] in this little town of three thousand inhabitants. It may also have been true that they wanted the

[23] Among the newspaper notices was one for the Frederick Artillery Company: " Attention Artillerists! You are hereby notified to attend a meeting of the Frederick Artillery Company on Wednesday next the 29th instant, at eight o'clock A. M., at the house of Aquila Tully, completely equipped, as Gen. Lafayette will make his entry into Frederick between twelve and one. It is expected that every man will be at his post." (*Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.) There were four such notices published in that paper that day.

[24] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 13, 1824.

[25] *Reservoir*, Dec. 27, 1824; *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

[26] Entry of Dec. 30, 1824.

general to view their artistic achievements to the best advantage.[27] This is the traditional reason, and it is suggested also by the newspaper account: [28]

> The general arrived at the south end of Market street about four o'clock, and from the elevation of the place of entry, the two beautiful arches . . . burst upon his view, with all the pleasing emotions of a heart which nature seems to have selected for the culture and display of the best affections.

The procession evidently went to Barracks Hill by leaving the Baltimore pike at a fork in the road near the present Fair Grounds. This may have seemed less of a round-about route then than it does today, accustomed as we are to an important highway with no obvious alternative. The Barracks Hill may have looked nearer at that time, too, when one had a view from it down towards the Baltimore pike over fields as yet unencumbered by industrial buildings. Tradition says [29] that they went up a path over private property to reach the hill, where the procession was really to begin.

All the military, except those in the procession, were to be drawn up on North Market street, on the west side, between Patrick and Fifth streets, and facing east, with their officers to the right of their commands. An interesting note is added to the effect that " As a mark of respect peculiar to Frederick, the military are requested to appear on parade with powdered heads." [30] Several visiting companies were present, for they are mentioned as taking place in the line according to the distance of their march.[31] We have no information as to where the school-children were stationed, but we know that they had been assigned a definite place in the demonstrations.[32]

Preceded by a part of his escort of cavalry, and followed by the rest of it, and by the carriages containing his suite and the officials, the Marquis proceded in his barouche from the Barracks Hill down

[27] This is supported by the Avirett notes.
[28] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.
[29] Avirett notes.
[30] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824. During the Revolution powdered hair had been considered uniform for parades and guard duty, but the practice had been discontinued in America at the turn of the century. Presumably it was still in vogue in France, hence this gesture. *Cf.* Frederick Todd, " The ins and outs of military hair," *Infantry Journal*, XL (1940), 165-166.
[31] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.
[32] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 13, 1824.

to the corner of Patrick and Market streets, where trumpets were to herald his arrival.[33]

> A flourish of cavalry trumpets on the right will announce the arrival of General Lafayette there; which signal shall be passed along the line by a ruffle of drums from right to left. As General Lafayette passes the line he will be saluted by the different regiments in succession . . . with music playing and standards displayed, paying him the highest military honors until he shall have passed the left, resting near the triumphal arch, at the intersection of Market and Fifth streets.

He thus passed all the troops lined up between the two arches, after which he took the salute as they marched past him at the reviewing stand near the northern arch. After a series of complicated manouevres, the Marquis was escorted from the stand on North Market street, along Fifth street to what is now East street, then known as Love Lane. They marched south in Love Lane to Patrick, and from the east to the west end of Patrick street, ending up near the Court House, where the town officials were to greet him, and where the official address of welcome was to be made by William Ross. This is the only speech quoted in the press, and it was quoted in full.[34]

It is unfortunate that for our information concerning the festivities in honor of Lafayette, we are limited to official accounts based on programs, and that we have no diary or other personal accounts of what happened. The two principal events were the banquet on Wednesday, the day of his arrival, and the ball on Thursday night. There were two smaller receptions on Thursday morning.

The dinner was scheduled at the Golden Fleece for five o'clock on Wednesday, and tickets at four dollars each were on sale in stores from Monday on. The delay of several hours in arrival in Frederick brought about complications, and it did not seem advisable to cut short the military program. The result was that the dinner was an hour late, and according to the newspaper accounts, the hunger of some of the prospective participants provided a stronger incentive than either their curiosity about the guests or the price they had paid for their tickets. As the paper put it,[35]

> Although the day had already been succeeded by the shades of evening, the General, unwilling that his personal fatigue should deprive his fellow

[33] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.
[34] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824, Jan. 1, 1825.
[35] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

citizens of the honors which they were anxious to award, or the pleasure they were solicitous to enjoy, repaired to the pavillion to receive the salute. . . . The exercises of the day having deferred the banquet until after six o'clock, the company was not so large as an earlier hour would have insured.

The newspaper accounts which I have been able to see, give no information about the menu at the banquet.[36] We are told simply [37] that the dinner was " sumptious " and that there was pleasure at the " festal board." Then they got on with the really important part, the toasts. There were thirteen scheduled toasts and an unrecorded number of so-called " volunteer " toasts. They started off with one to the memory of Washington and then drank to the President of the United States with the words, " May the evening of his life be spread with the sweetest shades of dignified retirement." The eleventh toast was to the new Chesapeake and Ohio Canal,—" The first great council of waters will be the healing of all sectional complaints in the body politic." The twelfth was to " Agriculture, the Nursery of Virtue," while the thirteenth saluted " The American Fair, their sensibilities always alive to the merit of the brave." Their sentiments grew more extravagant as volunteers called for toasts. Several gentlemen toasted the ladies, who were apparently not there, and Lafayette's son asked the guests to drink to " A country where men are gallant and free, where ladies are handsome and good, the United States of America." [38] An officer from Hagerstown invoked the ever-present sentiment for Greek independence with the toast " The suffering Greeks, may they meet with a Lafayette." General Thomas C. Worthington, in the midst of this army show, thought he must risk a kind word for the navy, and toasted it in the person of Captain Elliot, who had come with Lafayette from Baltimore.[39] Lafayette himself bowed out with the salute to " The old Maryland Line and the young Frederick volunteers." Levasseur, the secretary, had been at the banquet and had volunteered a toast, but in his journal of Lafayette's visit, he recorded only one thing about the banquet. He was impressed by the magnificent candelabra which lighted the

[36] Williams, *ibid.*, writing in 1910, says much about the contribution of delicacies by local citizens, especially the game brought in by hunters, the apples from nearby farms, and the whiskey and wine from the cellars of the well-to-do.
[37] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.
[38] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.
[39] *Fred Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

table. It contained, he said, " an immense quantity of candles," and the base consisted of an enormous bomb-shell brought from the siege of Yorktown.[40]

The following day there were two receptions. From ten to twelve in the morning the Marquis received at Talbott's Tavern any citizens who wished to be introduced.[41] Jacob Engelbrecht, that tireless recorder of the minutiae of life in Frederick, wrote that Lafayette was at that moment receiving the citizens and said that he himself had just returned from the party where he had been introduced by Colonel John Ritchie.[42] Some time later in the day, another reception took place at Colonel McPherson's house, where he received first " the ladies " and later the military and Masonic delegations.[43] There is a tradition in Frederick that there was a meeting of the local Masonic Lodge that day, but no contemporary record has been found and there is no mention of it in Masonic records.[44] It is possible that the relics which have been preserved because of a supposed connection with this supposed Masonic meeting, were in reality identified in some way with the attendance at this reception by the Masons, possibly in a body.

The second night of the Marquis' visit was devoted to the Ball. This, like the banquet, was held at Talbott's " Golden Fleece." Cards of invitation were given to the ladies by the committee, but the gentlemen paid for their tickets, at five dollars each, with only two hundred being available. The newspapers carried the startling request that gentlemen not in uniform wear shoes—startling until we read further on that the military would be permitted to wear boots.[45] No contemporary description of the ball appears to have survived.

It is again upon the newspapers that we must depend for a record of his departure: " Our distinguished guest set out for the city of Washington in a coach and four, provided for his comfortable conveyance, attended by Colonel John McPherson, Dr. William B. Tyler, and the Hon. John Lee." [46] But Jacob Englebrecht, whose uncanny ability of being at his window when anything hap-

[40] A. Levasseur, *Lafayette en Amérique en 1824-1825*, II (Paris, 1829), p. 34-35.
[41] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1824.
[42] Entry for Dec. 30, 1824.
[43] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825; *Engelbrecht diary*, Dec. 30, 1824.
[44] These records were kindly searched for me by Mr. Charles McC. Mathias.
[45] *Fred. Her.*, Dec. 25, 1824.
[46] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.

pened in Frederick during a period of over fifty years, was there when the general left. At eight-thirty on the morning of December 31, he wrote in his diary that the Marquis had been gone ten minutes.[47]

Both before and after the visit of the Marquis, full advantage was taken of his name for advertising purposes. Here are some samples. The "Fountain Inn," operated by Bartgis in Market street, advertised as the "Fountain Inn à la mode de La Fayette," with this note, "While our noddles are addled with Lafayette notions, the public, (I beg their pardon for this intrusion on their cogitations) may rest assured that I have rented that large and commodious tavern stand in Market street on the road to Baltimore and Philadelphia."[48] Another man announced that he had opened next to the tavern of Aquila Tully, a "Lafayette Billiard Table."[49] In a book describing the tour immediately after it took place, the author wrote,

> It is not enough, it would seem, that we as men have exhibited every manifestation of joy and pleasure on this glorious occasion, but our very children have caught the patriotic mania. We have our Lafayette boots, Lafayette hats, Lafayette wines, and Lafayette everything,—but I think our boys have beat us when they draw from the silver flood, Lafayette fish.[50]

I have found no other reference to Lafayette fish, but there are numerous advertisements of a "Lafayette Winter Establishment" where "Oysters Lafayette" were served.[51]

> Since Lafayette (fair Freedom's boast)
> Throughout the land is all the toast
> And all around—inland—on coast
> Are striving which shall please the most
> Why may not I, a willing host
> My OYSTERS à la Fayette roast.

The reception of the Marquis in Frederick reproduced to a great extent the welcome which he received everywhere he went in this

[47] Engelbrecht diary, Dec. 31, 1824.
[48] *Fred. Her.*, Jan. 1, 1825.
[49] *Pol. Int.*, Jan. 15, 1825.
[50] Gilbert Hunt, *Tour of General Lafayette through the United States* (New York, 1825), p. 6.
[51] *Reservoir*, II, Nov. 29, 1824; *Pol. Int.*, Oct. 27, 1824.

country.[52] Triumphal arches, fireworks, parades and balls were held everywhere. It was a great moment in the life of an old man who had been living for some years in comparative retirement in his own country. But a man who had been a major general at nineteen could scarcely hope to live all his days in the excitement and glory he had first known forty-seven years before.

[52] See "The Nation's Guest," *Virginia Cavalvade*, IV (Autumn, 1954), 39-42.—*Ed.*

THE MONDAY CLUB

By William D. Hoyt, Jr.

THE Monday Club, which first met on Wednesdays, flourished in Baltimore from 1835 to 1841.* Its membership was small, averaging about twenty-five, and if the dearth of information about the group is any indication, its importance was slight. Yet it numbered among its members the most influential leaders of Baltimore's social, business, and professional circles. In all, thirty-seven men belonged to the Club during the six years of its existence. The only knowledge we have concerning the organization is to be found in a small manuscript volume, measuring about four by six inches and bound in red leather, which consists of fragmentary notes made by John Pendleton Kennedy, one of the founders of the Club.[1]

The whole point of the group, as stated by Kennedy, was " to set on foot a little weekly meeting or *reunion* of the gentlemen of Baltimore." Furthermore, it was desired " that there should be as little of the appearance of formal organization as possible. That there should be neither President, Secretary nor other officers, nor should there be written notes . . . "—which may help to explain the lack of knowledge of the Club.

Unfortunately, Kennedy's notes give little more than a skeleton outline of the organization, recording where the meetings were held, who were members, and who wanted to join; but nothing at all of the gatherings themselves. It is apparent, however, that the desired keynote of informality was maintained; the group met casually and unpunctually, and after a

* The present writer is indebted to Mr. Harris H. Williams, formerly Reference Librarian at the Peabody Institute Library, who made the transcription of Kennedy's " Journal " and prepared some comments on it. On his departure from Baltimore to enter the Foreign Service, he generously sent his memoranda to the writer with the request that he expand them for publication.

[1] Kennedy Papers, Peabody Institute Library. Since the first meeting was held on a Wednesday, yet the ' titlepage ' of the manuscript is labeled " The Monday Club," there is reason to believe that Kennedy started the " Journal " at the opening of the second season, October 12, 1835, and from that date kept almost contemporary minutes.

round or so of whiskey punch ("the staple"), a light supper was served. Presumably, the conversation was light and friendly, and out-of-town guests were welcome.[2]

Of the thirty-seven men who were at one time or another affiliated, ten were lawyers, eight were physicians, and six were merchants or bankers. The Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, the postmaster, the judge of the Orphans' Court, the editor of the *Baltimore American*, a professor of chemistry at the University of Maryland, and several gentlemen of leisure completed the group. Four of the members had nation-wide reputations, and the fact of their membership elevates the Club to a position of respectability and even to one of importance. These four men were George H. Calvert, Dr. Robley Dunglison, John H. B. Latrobe, and John P. Kennedy.

George Henry Calvert (1803-1889) was then editor of the *Baltimore American*; he was a widely traveled young man and gave promise of a bright literary future. At this time he was probably writing his first book, *Cabiro, a Poem*, which he published in 1840. His background of study and travel abroad, his family connections, his literary inclinations, his position on the local newspaper—these would indicate a man of culture and learning, an ornament to the Monday Club.

Dr. Robley Dunglison (1798-1869) was a member for only one season because in the autumn of 1836 he left his post at the University of Maryland for a chair at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. He was an English physician enticed to America in 1825 by Thomas Jefferson to help form the first faculty at the University of Virginia. He stayed in Charlottesville until 1833 and then moved to Baltimore. The doctor had already published his *Human Physiology* (1832) and the famous *Dictionary of Medical Science and Literature* (1833), both of which went through many editions. His *Elements of Hygiene* (1835) and *Principles of Medical Practice* (1836) were

[2] Students of Maryland history will inevitably find themselves comparing this Monday Club with the 18th century Tuesday Club of Annapolis. The membership of both groups was similar, and the same informality of victuals and discussion was employed. It is a matter of regret that there is no record of the Monday Club like Dr. Alexander Hamilton's extensive manuscript journal of the proceedings of the Tuesday Club. For the latter, see "The Tuesday Club of Annapolis," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 59-65, and Joseph T. Wheeler, "Reading and Other Recreations of Marylanders, 1700-1776," *ibid.*, XXXVIII (1943), 43-55.

published while he lived in Baltimore. Kennedy's remarks on Dunglison's departure show the respect and affection in which the doctor was held.

The amazingly talented John H. B. Latrobe (1803-1891) must have been a real addition to the group. By 1835 he had already written *The Justices' Practice under the Laws of Maryland* (1826); and, using the pseudonym of Godfrey Wallance, he contributed to the *Atlantic Souvenir*, a gift annual issued by Matthew Carey of Philadelphia. Latrobe was immersed in his work as attorney for the young Baltimore and Ohio Railroad during the Monday Club years. He was, altogether, a many-sided, vigorous, intelligent young man.

John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870) was probably the most widely known member of the group. His *Swallow Barn* (1832) had recently attracted considerable attention; and during the life of the Club he wrote and published *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835) and *Rob of the Bowl* (1838), both of which were instantaneously popular. In 1838 he was elected to Congress on the Whig ticket, which was regarded as a brilliant personal political victory. Kennedy was just forty years old when the Monday Club began and was at the very peak of his career: a rare and curious, yet successful, combination of novelist, politician, and businessman.

It would be overemphasis to rank the Monday Club with its worthy predecessor, the Delphian Club, but its membership was select and prominent enough to deserve comment. It does help, in some measure, to indicate the interests and pleasant mode of recreation of this group of Baltimoreans during the late 1830's. The complete membership is listed in an appendix.

The following is an exact transcript of the manuscript volume kept by Kennedy:

MONDAY CLUB

Private Journal of certain public events. ~~Written~~ ~~without~~ ~~Authority~~. [*sic*].

On Wednesday the 18th of March 1835 a few gentlemen met by invitation at my house, Mount Vernon Place,[3] to set on foot a little weekly meeting or *reunion* of the gentlemen of Baltimore. The object proposed was, by this periodical concourse, not only to cultivate intimate acquaintance and friendship amongst the members, but also to afford strangers who

[3] Kennedy's home was on the southeast corner of Mount Vernon Place, where the Peabody Conservatory of Music is now located.

might casually be in the city an opportunity to gain some knowledge of our Society.

In the accomplishment of the purpose of the meeting it was determined, First that there should be as little of the appearance of formal organization as possible. That there should be neither President, Secretary nor other officers, nor should there be written notes, nor indeed any thing that should be a symbol of previous design—if that could be avoided.

Second, it should be understood that the meetings were to be held once a week, on Wednesday evenings about 8 o'clock.

Third That there should be a very slight supper, which in no case should exceed two dishes—with but little wine,—relying upon whiskey punch as the staple.

Fourth, That the Society or Club should consist eventually of such gentlemen as should proffer themselves ready in succession to give the required entertainment, until the number of Twenty Six should present themselves in the regular succession. As soon however as an evening should arrive on which no gentlemen should offer himself ready to take the next meeting, then the circle was to be considered as complete, the day was to come back to one, and from that time forth no person was to be admitted into the club but upon occasion of a vacancy and consent of all the members.

Fifth, It was also to be understood that the gentleman who gave the party was to be priviledged to invite whomsoever he pleased for the night. That the members of the Club were to attend always without invitation, and that every member should be privileged to bring to the meeting any strangers who might be in the City.

These were the *understandings* which for my own satisfaction, (since it is contrary to the spirit of our design that they should be recorded as matter of public proceeding) I have written down in this book. The same in no wise to be regarded as a thing authorized by the Club. From this it will be seen that whatever philosophers may say to the contrary, it is quite practicable to establish a body politic with such instincts as shall supersede conventional stipulation, and with such *understanding*, as shall stand for laws.

As it is a matter of importance to commemorate the establishment of the club by a full notice of the event, I have thought it further worth while to say that at this meeting at my house on the 18th March, there were present the following gentlemen:

Robley Dunglison, M. D.	Charles Howard
George Calvert	Josias Pennington
H. H. Hayden	John S. Skinner
Gorham Brooks	Pendleton Kennedy

J. P. Kennedy.

Upon reflection I find I am mistaken in saying Dunglison was there. He got only half way, where, (the night being dark and tempestuous) he stuck fast in the mud, and when he extricated himself, for fear of further

mishap he went home. There were many more invited, but the foulness of the weather kept them back.

At nine o'clock we had a Tureen of stewed oysters, and some turkey salad, to which my wife added ice cream, an indiscretion that nearly proved fatal to the enterprise. It was understood that that was on no account to occur again.

Pennington offered to take the next meeting (the 25th) which he did with visible manifestations of the popularity of the scheme.[4] He was followed by Dunglison;[5] and the club moved forward with increasing vivacity through the following succession.

John P. Kennedy, First night, Mar. 18
J. Pennington, 2nd. Mar. 25
R. Dunglison 3. Ap. 1
Robert Gilmor 4. Ap. 8
Charles Howard 5. April 15
J. Meredith, 6. " 22
G. Brooks, 7 " 29
Natl. Williams, 8 May 6.

At the meeting at Williams' it was *understood* that the season was advancing too near to the summer to keep up the meetings without intermission and therefore that they would not be resumed until the autumn. The successor was to be Col. Saml. Moore who promised to be ready when the proper time should come.

Monday October 12th 1835.

We had a little preliminary meeting this evening at Dunglison's *to have some understandings* as to the course of proceeding for the winter. Besides Dunglison, there were Meredith, Pennington, Sam Moore and myself. Robert Gilmor was invited but could not come. The result of this convocation was as follows—

Understood that the Club commence operations again on Monday the second of November, and the meetings take place henceforth on Monday instead of Wednesday nights. That the rule of two dishes and whiskey punch be adhered to, as an indispensable sumptuary understanding. And that we here present do what we please this winter for the good of the club.

Monday Nov. 2, 1835.

Meeting at Col. Moore's.

Nov. 9. Dr. Alexander's.—At this meeting it was understood that the club henceforth assemble, at the latest, by half past 7 o'clock, and that supper be laid at 9.

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[4] Pennington lived on Mount Vernon Place, next to Kennedy, where the Peabody Institute Library now stands.

[5] 16 Hanover Street.

Nov. 16. Dr. Hall's.
Nov. 23. Hu. Birckhead's
Nov. 30. Saml. Hoffman's.
Dec. 7th. Hu. W. Evans
" 15. G. Lurman's
Dec. 21. John M. Gordon's
" 28 Dr. Gibson

1836
Jany. 4 ArchBh. Eccleston
11 Dr. Hayden
18 J. Harwood
25. S. O. Hoffman
Feby. 1. Dr. Maccaulay
8 J. H. B. Latrobe
15 J. G. Davies

On this night, twenty four parties having been given, and at the request of Ben. C. Howard and Jeremiah Hoffman places having been kept open for them with a view to give them a favorable season of the year, the circle of Twenty six, with these two reservations, has been accomplished, and according to the original design it now returns to me. I have consequently invited the gentlemen to meet (under the name of 'The Monday Club') at my house on Monday next the 22nd. It will be a subject for consideration then whether the members may be enlarged, there being several applicants for membership. The twenty six nights will fill up the interval from the 1st Monday of November to the 1st Monday of May. The question for consideration will be can the season be extended, by commencing earlier in the autumn and extending later in the Spring? Another purpose of this meeting is to card the club by recording the names of the members and by assigning to each his night in the season and having a printed card issued, so as to make a permanent advertisement of the different meetings of the year, and of course, an invitation to the members in advance. The gentlemen who have heretofore expressed a wish to have an evening assigned to them, and who have not yet been afforded an opportunity of receiving the Club, are

John Hoffman
J. Spear Nicholas
Richard Stewart
Francis H. Davidge
Wm. G. Read

Monday Feby 22. 1836

In consequence of an obstacle of a private nature, the meeting of this evening was transfered from my house to Pennington's where I understand there was a full attendance. Pennington the next day reported to me that the Club had determined that the members ought not to exceed the original limit of Twenty six, and accordingly it was resolved to close with that number.

Ben. C. Howard who was present declined in consequence of his public

engagement to become a member;[6] by this withdrawal, John Hoffman proceeds to the original list of Twenty six.

Several gentlemen of the Club were invited to meet on the morning of the 23rd at R. Gilmor's to make up the yearly card. I went with Pennington and no one else attending, Gilmor, Pennington and myself made out the card for 1836-37, beginning on the 4th Monday of October, and arranging the meetings in the following procession, viz.

Monday Club

Card for 1836. 37

		Monday
1836		
	J. P. Kennedy	Oct. 24
	J. Pennington	31
	J. Owings Hoffman	Nov. 7
	Archbishop Eccleston	14
	R. Gilmor	21
	Dr. Alexander	28
	Dr. Macaulay	Dec. 5
	John Hoffman	12
	G. W. Lurman	19
	Dr. Gibson	26
1837		
	Saml. Hoffman	Jany. 2
	Dr. Hayden	9
	John M. Gordon	16
	Jas. Harwood	23
	J. H. B. Latrobe	30
	J. G. Davis	Feby. 6
	Dr. Dunglison	13
	N. Williams	20
	J. Meredith	27
	Hu. Birckhead	Mar. 6
	G. Brooks	13
	Chas. Howard	20
	Saml. Moore	27
	Dr. Hall	Ap. 3
	H. W. Evans	10
	Jer. Hoffman	17

This card was printed with a summary of the rules of the club at the foot of it. It was determined that for the residue of the present term the succession should be as follows.

Feby.	29	at Dr. Dunglison's
Mar.	7	N. Williams
"	14	J. Meredith

[6] Howard was a member of Congress and Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

"	21	Hu Brickhead
	28	G. Brooks
Ap.	4	Ch. Howard
	11	Sam. Moore
	18	Dr. Hall
Ap.	25.	H. W. Evans
May	2.	Jer. Hoffman.

Monday Feby 29. The meeting was accordingly held at Dunglison's.

March 7. In consequence of a family affliction Williams exchanged with Brooks who received the Club at his house. The next night is set down for Meredith but he being unwell has made an exchange with Charles Howard.

It was arranged at Brooks's that invitations should be sent to those gentlemen who have heretofore applied for an evening but were left out in consequence of the limitations. They are to be invited to consider themselves in all respects as members with all the privileges of membership, and to be entitled according to this priority of application to have an evening assigned to them, as opportunity may occur.

Dr. Richard Stewart has declined to be considered an applicant for membership, or to accept the invitation. The invitation therefore applies to

J. Spear Nicholas
F. H. Davidge
W. G. Read and
Dr. Rogers Hoffman who

on this evening expressed his wish to be considered a member. I have accordingly issued cards to these gentlemen. Dr. Ducatel has also applied to be enrolled as a member, I have in consequence sent him a card.

May 2 1836

This was the last meeting of the season, and the meeting was held at Mr. Jer. Hoffman's under the most favorable and agreeable circumstances. The previous meetings from the 7th of March through this interval were held according to the regular procession herein before set down. And the Club has thus far proceeded under the most encouraging auspices.

Monday Oct. 24 1836

The new season opened according to the card, at my house, where there were nearly 100 persons present. Dunglison, a most valued and admirable member has been called to a Chair in the Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia, and has consequently been obliged to leave us. The regret of the society of Baltimore, to whom he was affixed by the many endearments which his highly cultivated mind and amiable manners created, has been expressed in every circle and felt in every bosom. It is but a just tribute to his worth to say that amongst the Club every member is conscious that in Dr. Dunglison's removal we have lost the individual whose name is now fartherest spread abroad over our country and is like to be longest remembered hereafter, as associated with the cause of science and letters. As the Doctor has greatly profited in his pecuniary relations by this removal and

has obtained a foothold upon a most conspicuous theatre, our interest in his success in life is the only argument which reconciles us (I speak at least for myself) to the privation which has made us so much the loser.

Spear Nicholas, being the eldest applicant upon the list, takes Dunglison's place upon the card. He has been apprised of this and the card will be altered accordingly.

Monday Oct. 31.

At Pennington's.—A good attendance.

John Hoffman has sent in his resignation, finding himself not in sufficient health to attend the meetings.

This vacancy entitles Ben. C. Howard to a place on the card. Howard had formerly been on it, and has lately informed me that he declined last winter only because he was occupied in Congress, and supposed that others were waiting for his place. It was accordingly then given to John Hoffman. Howard has since said that he was not aware that in thus declining for the winter he was losing his permanent position on the card, and to correct this misapprehension desired to be restored as soon as a vacancy occurred: in consideration of which it has been thought right that he should regain his original position upon Hoffman's withdrawal. He therefore would be entitled to the 12th Dec. but as he prefers in consequence of the distance of Belvidere from town,[7] and also on account of his congressional occupations to have an evening in Spring, we have effected an exchange between him and H. W. Evans, giving Evans the 12th of December and Howard the 17th of Apl.

Morgan Gibbes has applied to become a member and is accordingly so enrolled, and a card of invitation will be sent to him.

Francis H. Davidge has declined having any association with the Club, and will accordingly not be continued on the list of applicants. The applicants now stand as follows:

W. G. Read
Rogers Hoffman
Dr. Ducatel
R. M. Gibbes.

Monday Nov. 7

At Owings Hoffman's. I was absent from Baltimore on this evening but have heard the attendance was good. Mr. Chanche President of St. Mary's College,[8] having always been invited to the Club, and being anxious to make a return for these attentions, entertained the whole club at dinner, at the College on Thursday the 10th. Every one speaks of the festivity of the occasion in the most joyful terms.

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[7] "Belvidere," the Howard home was located about where Calvert and Chase streets now intersect. It is amusing to think of this spot as being considered a "distance from town."

[8] The Rev. John J. Chanche (1795-1852), a Baltimorean, was president of St. Mary's College from 1834 to 1840. St. Mary's was the only institution of higher learning in Baltimore and many of the city's leading families (of all creeds) sent sons there. Chanche became the first Bishop of Natchez in 1841.

Monday Nov. 14.

At the Archibishop's.

Monday Nov. 21. At R. Gilmor's.

Monday Nov. 28th.

At Dr. Alexander's. On this evening the Doctor has fallen under the censure of the law of the Society for having given a supper set out with a variety of dishes altogether in violation of the sumptuary law which restricts the supper to two dishes, or kinds of meat. An imitation of this excess will inevitably break up the club by leading to a rivalry which will become at last too expensive to be borne by many of the members.

Monday December 5

This was Macaulay's night, but some of his family being indisposed, he gave the evening over to Gibbes, at whose house the Club accordingly assembled.

John S. Skinner has requested to become a member. I have therefore enrolled his name on the list and sent him a card.

A new set of cards of the season with the promotions and changes are now in the hands of the printer and will be issued this week.

Monday Dec. 12 H. W. Evans.

Dec. 19. G. W. Lurman's. The hour of the meeting is appointed on the card for seven o'clock, in the hope that members will assemble at half past seven. But the habit of a late hour is gradually gaining ground. None come before 8, and many much later. This requires correction.

Monday Dec. 26

At Dr. Gibson's. Mr. E. M. Greenway having applied to be put upon the list of members, he was enrolled accordingly and a card was sent to him on the 24th.

1837

Jany 2. At Samuel Hoffman's.
Jany. 9. Dr. Hayden
" 16. J. M. Gordon
" 23. J. Harwood
30 J. H. B. Latrobe

Feby 6 J. G. Davies. David Hoffman having applied to become a member, I have accordingly sent him a ticket of invitation to the regular meetings and reported him as a regular of the club to take his turn on the card whenever the proper vacancy occurs.

The outside members now stand as follows:

W. G. Read
Rogers Hoffman
Dr. Ducatel
R. M. Gibbes

J. S. Skinner
E. M. Greenway
David Hoffman

Feby. 13. At J. S. Nicholas's

20 N. Williams
27 J. Meredith

March 6. This was H. Birckhead's evening, but owing to some mistake no meeting was held.

Mar. 13. G. Brooks
20 Rogers Hoffman takes it tonight for Charles Howard who could not receive the Club.

Mar. 27. S. Moore

April 3. Dr. Hall

April 10. B. C. Howard's night but he not being able to meet the Club, J. S. Skinner takes his place.

April 17. Jeremiah Hoffman closes the season.

1837–38

The Club was resumed at the appointed time, a card for the season made out, and the meetings held through the winter with great regularity.

1838–39

On Monday the 22nd of October the club met at Mr. Gilmor's. It was now found that the whole list of outside members had been brought upon the card, and that no new applications for membership were made. This was thought to furnish a fit occasion for organizing the club by written laws. This was accordingly brought into discussion and the result was the following tabs or by laws which were unanimously adopted.

The Monday Club

1. The Club shall commence its meetings on the 4th Monday of October, and end them on the last Monday of April in each year.

2. The suppers of the Club shall be confined to three dishes as already established by custom.

3. A committee of three shall be elected every year at the first meeting in October by such as may be present at 8 o'clock on that evening, which Committee shall remain in office until their successors are elected. They shall appoint a President and Secretary of the Club who shall serve for the year and until their successors are appointed. And the President and Secretary together with the Committee of three shall have full power to make all regulations which they may deem necessary for the ordering of the Club, and maintaining it according to the object for which it was originally instituted. This Board shall regulate the yearly ticket, fill

vacancies therein and admit to membership in the club such applicants as they may think entitled to the same.

4. When the yearly ticket is full the Board shall have power to put upon the back thereof the names of such persons applying to become members, as they may think proper to be admitted, which outside members shall have all the privileges of the Club and be entitled, according to seniority of application, to be brought upon the card as vacancies may occur.

5. The Committee for the time being shall have the privilege of filling any vacancies in its own number which may occur.

6. The President or the Committee may call extra meetings of the Club whenever deemed necessary.

These by laws having been adopted the meeting proceeded to the election of the Committee for the ensuing year, when wherewith Pennington and Dr. Alexander were unanimously chosen.
The Committee then apointed Robert Gilmor President and John P. Kennedy Secretary for the year.

Under this organization the ticket was made out and the meetings were regularly held in accordance therewith during the season.

1839–40

Monday Oct. 28th. The meetings resumed this evening at Mr. Gilmor's where the new card for the season was adjusted and ordered to be put in the hands of the Printer.

Nov. 4. At H. W. Evans'.

The Club went into an election of officers, when Mr. Gilmor was reelected President and J. P. Kennedy Secy.

Messrs. Meredith, Pennington and Saml. Hoffman, Committee.

1840–41

October 26. The meetings for this year were resumed commencing with G. W. Lurman.

The card for the season was directed to be made, which was accordingly done in the interval between this and the next meeting, which was directed to be held on Monday the 9th of November. The 2nd of November being passed by on account of the Presidential Election which was to take place on that day.

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APPENDIX

A list of the members, arranged alphabetically, is appended to Kennedy's account in order to provide pertinent data on ages and occupations during the period of the Monday Club.

Ashton Alexander (1772-1855), physican
Hugh Birckhead (1788-1858), merchant
Gorham (Graham) Brooks, merchant
George H. Calvert (1803-1889), newspaper editor
Francis H. Davidge (1796-1861), lawyer
Jacob G. Davies (1796-1857), mill owner
Julius T. Ducatel (1796-1849), professor at Univ. of Md. and St. John's, State Geologist
Robley Dunglison (1798-1869), professor at Univ. of Md.
Samuel Eccleston (1801-1851), archbishop
Hugh W. Evans (d. 1863), lawyer, bank president
Robert Morgan Gibbes [9]
George S. Gibson (1800-1872), physician
Robert Gilmor, Jr. (1774-1848), merchant
John M. Gordon (1810-1884), lawyer
Edward M. Greenway (d. 1880), banker
Richard W. Hall (1785-1847), physician
James Harwood (1791-1847), judge of Orphans' Court
Horace H. H. Hayden (1769-1844), dental surgeon and teacher
David Hoffman (1784-1854), lawyer
Jeremiah Hoffman (1777-1845), merchant
John Hoffman (1796-1846), merchant
Philip Rogers Hoffman (d. 1873), physician
Samuel Owings Hoffman (1801-1860), merchant
Benjamin Chew Howard (1791-1872), lawyer, member of Congress
Charles Howard (1802-1869), president Baltimore and Susquehanna Ry.
John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870), writer, member of Congress
John H. B. Latrobe (1803-1891), lawyer
Gustav W. Lurman (d. 1866), merchant
Patrick Macaulay (1792-1849), physician
Jonathan Meredith (1784-1872), lawyer
Samuel Moore (d. 1845), merchant
John Spear Nicholas (1802-1887), lawyer
Josias Pennington (1797-1874), lawyer
William G. Read (1800-1846), lawyer
John S. Skinner (d. 1851), postmaster
Richard S. Steuart (1797-1876), physician
Nathaniel Williams (d. 1864), lawyer, U. S. district attorney

[9] *Matchett's Baltimore Director . . . for 1837-8*, p. 140, lists South Gay Street near Baltimore Street as residence of Robert M. Gibbes.

REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE

PART IV

Edited by Helen Lee Peabody

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, No. 3, September, 1954, p. 237)

George Washington to Thomas Sim Lee [1]

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

June 7th 1781

Sir—

By a Resolve of Congress of the 31st. of May two Battalions of Infantry and a Corps of Horse consisting of Sixty four Dragoons are required of the State of Maryland to serve for three Months from the Time of their respectively rendesvousing at the Place or Places directed by me.

Your Excellency has, no Doubt, been made acquainted that the foregoing Requisition is founded upon alarming Progress which the Enemy are making in Virginia.

You will be pleased therefore to give orders to the officers commanding the respective Corps to march by Detachment as they are raised and equipped to whatever Place may be the Head Quarters of the American Army in Virginia or in Maryland (should the enemy have advanced into that State) and take their further Commands from the General or other commanding Officer.

I need but refer Your Excellency to the Circular Letter of the President of Congress of the 1st. inst., for the Reasons which ought to influence the Exertions of Your State most particularly at this Moment.[2]

I have the honour to be, etc.

Go. Washington

The following is the first of the series of 49 letters written by James McHenry to Governor Lee in great part from the Yorktown front, inherited by the Lee family and at present in their posses-

[1] Referred to in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXII, 171-172, and printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 275.

[2] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XX, 585-587.

sion, referred to in the September issue (p. 226). The letters were privately printed in Southampton, N. Y., in 1931 under the title, *A Sidelight on History, Being the Letters of James McHenry, Aide-de-Camp of the Marquis de Lafayette, to Thomas Sim Lee, Governor of Maryland, written during the Yorktown Campaign, 1781.*

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Bal. 9 June 1781.

My dear Sir:

When I have joined the Southern army (for which purpose I set out in less than two hours) I hope you will not forget that there is in it, one, who has the most sincere esteem for your Excellency. I know not any thing I have done to deserve the attentions you have shown me; but if I did not regard good men, I should cease to respect myself. This must always insure you my warmest attachment.

I cannot at this moment say whether I shall make the campaign with the Marquiss [de Lafayette] or Gen. Greene. It is most likely, however, that it will be with the latter, as he has written to General Washington and to myself very pressingly on this head. He will also, I suppose, have the most difficulties to encounter; and if so, this will determine me.

Let me beg your Excellency to present my compliments of leave to Mrs. Lee; and to believe me, your sincerely and with the greatest regard and attachment,

James McHenry

His Excellency,
Governor Lee.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE [4]
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Headquarters, Col. Dandridges House,
23 Miles from Richmond.
19 June 1781.

Dear Sir:

I am not sure that the Marquiss writes you, and therefore I do. When the Marquiss was obliged to move, Cornwallis took a position at Cook's fork, which enabled him either to return to James river or to gain our northern communication. To prevent him from destroying the stores arriving from Philadelphia was a necessary attempt on the part of the

[3] Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 16-17.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
[5] Apparently Baron von Steuben.

Marquiss. The Baron,[5] with about 500 Virginia levies and some militia, covered the stores at the fork of the James river.

Tarleton's [6] legion penetrated to Charlotteville, dissipated the Assembly, and destroyed about 150 stand of arms and some powder. Simcoe, with his corps, proceeded to the point of fork and destroyed the stores which the Baron deserted. In the meantime, Cornwallis approached the point of fork with intention to strike our magazines at Albemarle Old Court House. But before he could reach them the Marquiss effected his junction with the Pennsylvanians, and by opening a march through a road deemed impassible, gained a position on Michunk Creek between the enemy and our magazines, where he was joined by some riflemen. The day following, Cornwallis retired towards Richmond, where he now is. We are in this neighborhood. In this war of marches, the Marquiss is the victor, because he obliged by a very happy maneuvre his Lordship to return without completing his principal object. Commodore Baron [7] writes that on the 17th, in the afternoon, 35 sail of the enemy's vessels anchored in Hampton Road from sea. He supposes them the same that sailed from thence thirteen days ago. Four, he says, appeared to have troops on board.

With the greatest respect and attachment, I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your Excellency's

Most obst. [*sic*]

James McHenry.

His Excellency
Governor Lee

Lafayette to Thomas Sim Lee [8]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Mr. Savages house 13 Miles from
New Kent Court House [Va.]. 25th June 1781

Dr Sir.

Yesterday morning the enemy renewed their March from Kent Court house to Williamsburg. This morning a light corps, that was in advance, and the Pennsylvania line moved after them. Lord Cornwallis has not, as yet, explained himself clearly enough, for one to determine upon his immediate objects. I would suppose however, that a post at Williamsburg, and a small one, perhaps, at York, may be intended. Heretofore his cavalry have covered his maneuvers, and rendered him almost impenetrable.

I have been for some time past flattered with accounts of an approaching succour in cavalry from your State; but their not joining me, makes me fear lest they should be prevented by some obstacle that had not been foreseen. If it is to be removed by the Executive, I pray your Excellency to give such orders for this purpose as may effect it with as much expedition as possible.—Where an army consists chiefly in militia, a large and

[6] Sir Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833).
[7] James Barron, who commanded part of the naval forces of Virginia.
[8] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 315.

good cavalry is of the last importance. It is our misfortune that our is chiefly in militia, and that the enemy's cavalry renders every effort of ours that may produce an equality, a primary object. With an Army of this description and without cavalry to oppose to the enemy, you can easily conceive his advantages. But notwithstanding these, his Lordship has the credit of having moved with great caution.

I have the honor to be with the utmost respect, D. Sir
Your Excellency's most obt. Servt.
Lafayette

His Excellency
Governor Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE [9]
(T. S. Lee Collection)

7th July 1781.
10 o'clock P. M.

Dear Sir:

We have received certain advice that the rear of the British army crossed from James Town to the Cobham side at noon. Part of the army is in motion to take possession of the place.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's most obst.
James McHenry.

Governor Lee.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE [10]
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

July 10, 1781

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the Receipt of Your Excellency's favor of the 29th of June.[11]

It is with very great satisfaction that I observe the proceedings of the General Assembly of your state which you have been pleased to communicate to me.

The exertions of that Legislature have heretofore been laudable, and I am exceedingly glad to see the same spirit still prevailing.

For my part I have not a doubt but that if the States were to exert themselves with that spirit and vigor which might be reasonably be expected at this favorable period, they might not only drive from the Con-

[9] Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 21-22.

[10] Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXII, 350-351, and *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 342. ("In the writing of Peregrine Fitzhugh."—Fitzpatrick.)

[11] See *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 491. This letter was in answer to the General's letter of June 7, q. v.

tinent the remains of the british force now among us, but obtain to themselves their independence, with the enjoyment of Peace Liberty and happiness to their numerous Inhabitants, an event which you will be assured I most ardently wish.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's Mo. Ob. Ser.
Go. Washington

James McHenry to Thomas Sim Lee [12]
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Holt's forge, 11th July 1781
11 o'clock P. M.

My dear Sir:

The express does not go off till morning, and we have received a dispatch from General Greene dated Little River in the district of 96, June 23. The General writes me, " Fortune is my enemy, or at least not much my friend. We were contemplating the reduction of all the enemy's posts in South Carolina and Georgia, except Charlestown and Savannah, when the enemy received a reinforcement at Charlestown, which enabled them to raise the siege of 96. It was mortifying, indeed, to be obliged to leave a place which we had labored so much to reduce, and which we were within four days of effecting, and to be in possession of one of the enemy's works, when Lord Rawdon [13] arrived and obliged us to retreat. Could I have collected a large body of militia, I would have fought him, but our numbers were too small to hazard an action, especially as this little army is all we have to depend upon. We prosecute the war upon such unequal terms in this country that I have nothing better to expect than disgrace and ruin, and unless a few of my friends can convince the sensible part of mankind that it is not the misapplication, but the want of means which is the cause of our misfortunes, I am sure that will be the case. Greater abilities might improve our force to greater advantage; but as for men, I can do no more than I have done. If my conduct is not satisfactory, I shall submit with pleasure to public censure."

He attacked two of the out works, one of which he carried. His loss was between 40 and 50. He retired on the 19th, when the enemy were within a few miles of 96.

The act of our late session of Assembly to raise a body of horse is one of the wisest measures which could have been adopted. It remains to prosecute its execution with vigor. Under our present circumstances, they are the most serviceable army we can raise. The enemy, sensible of this, have turned all their attention to it in South Carolina, and from their superior means must exceed us in cavalry. Among your exertions, my dear Governor, for our country, let this be a principal one. I believe we

[12] Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 27-29.
[13] Lt. Col. Francis Rawdon.

must risque everything here in order to succour Greene. Should no new charges arise, I shall urge the step.

I am, most respectfully, my dear Sir,

Yours,
James McHenry

His Excellency,
Governor Lee.

12th July
10 o'clock morning.

We have a dispatch from General Greene just now, dated 29th ult., by which we find he was rather intending opposition than a retreat.

J. McH.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE [14]
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Malvern Hill
29 the July 1781

Dear Sir:

It is not easy to make anything out of Lord Cornwallis' present movements. The fleet with about thirteen hundred troops on board (and some say 2000) were by our latest advices still in Hampton road. Since taking this position, there have been winds that would have carried them out of the Capes or up the Bay. They have pilots on board acquainted with the navigation of the upper parts of the Chesapeak. The fleet is watered; and the enemy give out that Baltimore is the place of destination. I know not well what to say in this case. To deceive more effectively, generals sometimes announce their real intentions. Lord Cornwallis has done this in some instances. Going up the Bay is also agreeable to the ministerial system. The composition of the troops is likewise calculated for such service, comprehending the light infantry or a regiment of cavalry or the Queen's rangers. On the other hand, New York seems to call for their assistance. And they may be waiting for a convoy or a second embarkation. In fine, if I dared to conclude any thing, it would be that they are destined for New York. Nevertheless, precautions might not be improper in your quarter. But I state the intelligence, and you will be the best judge of the measure. It appears to me that this State will not be evacuated, nor their design of penetrating Maryland even suspended at this moment unless the French have obtained such a naval superiority as to place New York and Charlestown in the last degree of danger. Such an event only, or a certainly that the enemy here will be too exposed to capture from such a superiority, can, or will, force them from this State. The Maryland dragoons have been ordered to return, and I suppose have commenced their march this morning.

[14] Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 38-39.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obt. Serv.
James McHenry.

His Excellency
Governor Lee

Lafayette to Thomas Sim Lee
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Malvern Hill 30th July 1781

Sir:

As I have had no advice of the March of the Maryland levies, I take the liberty of informing myself, through Your Excellency, whether it has yet taken place. Circumstanced as we are, a very small reinforcement is very sensibly felt. The enemy too, appearing to waver in their movements, makes additions more consequential; not only to this State, but to Maryland. I have long been of opinion, that, if we can but collect a respectable army in this quarter, we have little to fear, for yours. It is, therefore, I hope, that the calling out, or arranging the select body of militia, to act in Virginia, is still vigorously persued. Langour in our public exertions for this campaign, may not, perhaps, be balanced by the most strenuous in future.

It is some time since an embarkation was made at Portsmouth, and since the vessels fell down to Hampton road. The troops on board may amount to about 12 or 1300. My last accounts are of the 28th. It is said, pliots have been taken on board, acquainted with the upper part of Chesepeak; and, they give out, the armament is destined for Baltimore. It has for several days, had the most favorable winds to proceed up the Bay. But, as it seems to be complete, its not going, is one proof, that, its destination is elsewhere.

Were I to conjecture on this occasion, it would be, that it is designed for New-York; but, that some recent circumstance, has suspended its sailing. It is true, however, that the plan of the British ministry is to carry their arms into Maryland; and without great exertions here, and further Southward, or a naval superiority, I do not see how it is to be prevented.

Permit me again, therefore, to suggest to your Excellency, the vast importance of preparing the powers of your State, for the support of this. It is true, the uncertainty which appears in the enemy's movements, may be construed differently. If we suppose that, in order to secure their two principal posts, they mean only to leave a garrison at Portsmouth, it may present us with an opportunity of acting against it. In such a case, we should not have our succours to collect, lest we should lose the moment. And, if their whole force remains, we shall have a yet stronger call for reinforcements. The only event which can render this unnecessary, is their

[15] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, pp. 374-375.

evacuating the State. But we know of no facts upon which to build this conclusion.

I beg you to direct the levies to join this Army.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's
Most obt. Servt.
Lafayette

His Excellency
Governor Lee

James McHenry to Thomas Sim Lee [16]
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Malvern Hill 30 July 1781

My Dear Sir

The intelligence which remains after the Generals letter is fit only to excite conjecture.

On the 27th Nineteen flat bottomed boats with horse and foot crossed from Portsmouth to Norfolk. The Troops there marched towards Kemps Landing. The day after, two Companies of Hessians took the same rout. This, one would say, looks to the Southward.

We have nothing official from General Greene, but it is reported that affairs are again in his favor. His fortune is a perfect resemblance of life.

General Wayne and General Morgan [17] are at Goodbridge on the South side of James River. Col. Moylan and one Regiment of Light infantry will cross to day to take a Post in front. The Militia and the remainder of the infantry on this side.

With the most sincere respect and attachment I have the honor to be Dr. Sir:

Your Excellencys
Most obedient servt.
James McHenry

His Excellency
Governor Lee.

Thomas Sim Leee to the President of Congress [18]
(Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives)

Annapolis 4th Augt. 1781

Sir

The enclosed copies of letters [19] this Moment received from the Marquis de la Fayette and Doctor McHenry communicate the designs and movement

[16] Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 39-50.
[17] Daniel Morgan (1736-1802).
[18] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 541-542.
[19] Enclosures are the two preceding letters.

of the enemy. The state is making every exertion to collect such a force as with the regulars here amounting to about 600 under skilfull and experienced officers will enable us to confine them within very narrow limits. Our people are resolute and determined; they feel that animating spirit which diffusd itself throuh all ranks at the commencement of this Contest. The Approach of the Enemy has apparently banished every sordid, avaricious and selfish View, and we trust our People will act like Men sensible of the Blessings they are struggling for and the miseries which by an abject and dastardly conduct they most deservedly will feel.

If our militia could be well armed and accoutred they would acquire a confidence which would stimulate them to a conduct which would not disgrace regulars and on Congress we rely for that aid and most earnestly solicit your Excellency to supply us immediately with what can be spared and forward them: The field pieces intended for us, would be very serviceable.

Congress has not often been troubled with applications from this state and we flatter ourselves the Exertions of our people upon all occasions merit every assistance that can be afforded, especially at this Crisis.

We have taken every possible precaution to prevent the stores provisions and valuable property belonging to the continent and state falling into their Hands.

We have the honor to be with
the most respectful attachment
Your Excellencys most Obdt Servt.
Tho: S: Lee

Thomas Sim Lee to President of the Special Council [20]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Annapolis, 4 August, 1781

In Council

Gent^men With Enclosure

We have this Moment received the enclosed intelligence, so that the destination of the Enemy against this State no longer remains doubtful.

We are taking every possible measure for defense.

We have about 600 Regulars at this City and have advised all the select Militia and all the Companies of Light Horse at the Shore, and all the Draughts and Recruits, to rendez-vous at this Post and Baltimore Town, and shall order out the Militia in the Vicinity of those Posts.

You will observe that the Marquis' Pieces are marching to enlist to assist us. We think there is a Strong probability that this Movement is a Consequence of the Minesterial plan mentioned in Lord George Germain's [21] Letter and after ravaging our Coasts and Towns they will attempt to establish themselves at Elk.

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[20] Printed in *Archives of Maryland,* XLV, 542-543.

[21] Intercepted letter from Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, dated Feb. 7, 1781. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXI, 821.

We have the Honor to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. [Tench] Tilghman's Letter of the 1st Instant and thinking it absolutely necessary your Honor should be immediately informed of the Movements and Designs of the Enemy, I have taken the Liberty to direct the Commodore to return without Delay with this Letter. Your assistance in having the Draught forwarded from the several Counties of your Shore, will oblige us.

We have the honor to be with the most respectful
Attachment, Gentlemen,

Your Most Obed. & Humble Servant
Thos. S. Lee

Lafayette to Thomas Sim Lee [22]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

New Castle [Va.] 6th Augt. 1781.

Sir:

In my last dispatch to your Excellency I inclosed you a report from Commodore Barras [23] of the naval movement of the enemy, of which Baltimore was supposed to be the object. But instead of proceeding up the Bay the fleet stood into York river. The troops have been landed and are fortifying on the Glouster side. York town is made a place of arms. Lord Cornwallis is present, and has with him his whole force, except the garrison of Portsmouth.

From my intelligence it appears that a principal part of this fleet, was originally intended for New York; but in consequence of the arrival of a vessel with letters from Gen. Clinton, its sailing was suspended, and the present arrangement on the whole succeeded.

Maryland being thus relieved, I have to request your Excellency to give the most instant orders for the March of the levies. I need not mention to you the small force we have to oppose to Lord Cornwallis's command; or what may be the consequences should we not be reinforced. —That I may be enabled to regulate my motions upon certainties, I pray your Excellency to inform me, what number of levies you expect to have together in a given time; and when and where the select body of militia is to rendezvous. I wish also to be acquainted with the progress made in the collection of cavalry and draught horses, and whether you have agreed upon their appropriation.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's Most obt. Ser.
Lafayette

His Excellency
Governor Lee

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[22] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 393.
[23] Count Jacques Melchoir Barras St. Laurent, French naval officer.

James McHenry to Thomas Sim Lee [24]

(T. S. Lee Collection)

New Castle [Va.], 6th Augt. 1781.

My dear Sir:

Maryland is relieved by the enemy's establishing themselves in York river. But as this is a movement not of choice, there is no saying how long you will be safe. The measure, there is good reason to believe, is in consequence of advice of a superior naval power expected on this coast. So you see upon what you have to depend. Under these circumstances, your military preparations are as necessary as ever. You will either want them for your own defense or to assist us. Believe one who is not apt to judge rashly, who has long since told you of what has been so near taking place, that relaxation may involve evil to the State of the most permanent nature. There was a time when we could blunder with impunity, but a blunder now may prove fatal. I need not be more explicit to your Excellency. You must be aware of the very critical situation of affairs, both in America and Europe.

You are filling up the Continental line, but something might also be attempted for internal security. The enemy do not lose sight of Baltimore, and that place may not be unworthy a little attention. I will give you my sentiments in a few words. If the works for the defense of the harbor cannot be repaired, they should be levelled. If at least one gally, and a boom, cannot be provided, nothing of value should remain in the town. But if the works can be put in a state of defense, a gally completed, and a boom established with a proper militia garrison, the place will be secure from any small detachment; and with an equal army in their neighborhood the enemy will not venture to send a large one. At this moment, measures of this nature would have the most happy effect.

With the sincerest regard and the most perfect respect and attachment I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obst.
James McHenry.

His Excellency
Gov. Lee
(Marked private.)

Daniel Carroll (1730-1796), brother of Archbishop John Carroll, was one of the delegates in Congress from Maryland. Among other duties, he apprised the Governor of what was happening in Congress. Carroll signed the Constitution in 1787, served in the House of Representatives, and was a Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

[24] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 394, and *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 43-45.

Daniel Carroll to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia, August 7. 1781.

Sir,

The express delivered me your Favour of the 3d & 4th of Augst. The movement of the Enemy up the Bay is contrary to the judgment of the Learned in War at this place; but I have thought it probable his gallant Lordship would not leave our State unvisited in his tour, if New York does not appear to him to be in such imminent danger, as to make a reinforcement immediately necessary.

Our affairs in the South must fret his Lordship severely. Several flags have arrived here from Augustine & Charles Town within these few days.

The Gentlemen by these Vessels inform us that " 96 " has been evacuated, (this acknowledged by Rivington)—that a Body of the Enemy have been attacked and driven from Monk's Corner with considerable loss of men & all their baggage, which they were obliged to destroy, (the Charlestown Gazzette says almost as much,) that our parties are almost every day within 5 or 6 miles of Charlestown, & have cut off several small parties of the Enemy. That the body of troops left at Orangeburgh (the remainder of Lord Rawdon's force that relieved " 96 ") were surrounded & likely to fall into our hands.

If this last be true, what will prevent Gen^{l} Greene from making a triumphant entry into Charles Town, unless Cornwallis turn his face that way immediately?

The Gentlemen, by these flags, many of them of character, say that intelligence was received at Charles Town, (I believe by a Packet), that a considerable part of the homeward bound fleet have been taken, and carried into France by La Motte Piquet, and that Commodore Johnson has been severely beat by some French Squardon, supposed to be near the Cape of Good Hope.[25]

They speak of this with much confidence.

I seldom trouble you with reports—these are so important & come in such a manner, I could not avoid mentioning them. It gives me much pleasure to find such a spirit prevaling among my Countrymen, as you mention.

Mr. Ridgate took charge of your hat & of Mrs. Digges' stays & shoes. Pray let her know this,—I will write her in a day or two.[26]

I have heard only once from Mullahon, not more than 39 hogsheads came to hand,—the sale is dull for ready money. We have advised him to take some measures to secure the Tobacco at Elk.

Present my Complements to yr. Lady & believe me
Yours with the greatest regard
Dan^{l} Carroll

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[25] Piquet and Johnson not further identified.

[26] Probably Thomas H. Ridgate (d. 1790), merchant, of Port Tobacco; Mary Carroll Digges, second wife of Ignatius Digges.

N. B. Gen[l] Washington writes that the account he sent of the arrival of some troops at the Hook proved not true.[27]

Lafayette to Thomas Sim Lee [28]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Camp Pamonkey Aug 10, 1781

Sir:

The Enemy are fortifying York, in such a manner as if it was their intention to make it a place of Arms. I beg leave again to mention that the State of the troops makes your levies of great consequence as a reinforcement. I hope they have started, but in case they have not, let me request that they may proceed to Fredericksburg and there wait further orders. This is an intermediary post.

I begin to fear when we can Augment our army to a number to give us consideration, that we shall not be able to supply it from this State. To obviate this evil and to enable me to continue the force which I may call on I must entreat Your Excellency to inform me what provisions I am to expect from Mayriland. I mean both Kind and Quantity.

You will see by the inclosed letter to Colonel Temple [29] (which I beg you to forward) that He is ordered to Fredericksburg with His dismounted Dragoons to wait for one hundred Horses from Your Excellency of those collected for such service. I need not add anything on this head as you must be fully sensible how little can be done without cavalry. General Greene writes me to complete Col[o]. Moylans Regiment from the Mayriland Horses.

I know not for my part How we are to be furnished accoutrements for the Horses unless individual States will give us this help. If Your Excellency has any under your orders, or could find means to provide them it would be a most essential piece of Service.

I have the honor to be Sir Excellency's Obt Ser.

Lafayette

His Excellency
Gov. Lee

[28] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 406.

[27] See Washington to the President of Congress, July 30 and Aug. 2, 1781, Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 428, 450.

[29] Letter, not located, was probably addressed to Col. Benjamin Temple (d. 1802), of Virginia.

William Fitzhugh to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Calvert County, Aug. 20, 1781
Monday afternoon

Dear Governor,

I had this Moment the Honor to receive your very acceptable favr of the 17th Inst. and cannot too gratefully acknowledge my obligations for your friendly recomendations to my Son William, who, I hope will retain a due sense of Your Excellancy's kindness, and endeavor to merit it.

The Letter from my son Perry is of the 5th Inst.[30] He presents his respectful Compliments, is thankful for your Conveyance of his letters which I communicated to him, and promises to address you, so soon as any Events occur worth your Notice. I hope it will be by the next packet or mail. He says he is not at Liberty to say anything of the Intended Operations or Prospects, but let it suffice to say they are very flattering.

I have a letter from General Washington of the 8th Inst. inclosing letters of Recomendation of my son to General Greene, & Governor Nelson.[31]

The General complains of not being properly supported. He says that levies which he expected in January last, are not yet arrived, & deplores with Great Justice, in my oppinion, the raising of men for a short Term.

His Lady is at Philadelphia waiting for advices, when she may return to Mount Vernon with safety.

General Clinton is recalled, & Lord Cornwallis daily expected to Command at New York, where no reinforcement had arrived from Virginia on the 8th Inst.

I am much obliged to your Excellency for the Current Intelligence. I believe the Enemy are Embarrassed in every Quarter & know not well to what Particular Point to bend their Divided & shattered Force.

I think it probable that a Post will be Fix'd at York in Virg'a & the Remainder of Lord Cornwallis's Force, proceed with Him to New York; leaving the Southern States to the *Chance of Accidents,* which I hope will possess Our Great General Greene with the whole of them before Xmas Day.

My Son William will take leave of Us Early Tomorrow Morning, & will have the Honor to wait on you on His way to Baltimore, from whence He is to march with Gen. Gist.

Mrs. Fitzhugh joins with me in respectful Complts & Affecte wishes to you, your Lady, and Family.

I have Honor to be
with Perfect respect & Esteem
Your Excellancy's
Affecte & Obliged Hble Sert
William Fitzhugh

[30] Peregrine Fitzhugh.
[31] Thomas Nelson, Jr. (1738-1789), Governor of Virginia in 1781.

James McHenry to Thomas Sim Lee [32]
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Mrs. Ruffins, 25 Augt. 1781

My dear Sir:

The garrison, baggage, cannon, refugees, and negroes from Portsmouth have been landed at York, and his Lordship begins to look as if he wished to do something.—'Tis a maxim with him that ruin to Great Britain or a loss of the Southern conquests must be the consequence of defensive measures. Be assured, Cornwallis is a modern Hannibal. A few days since, Tarleton struck at a small body of our militia on the York side, and took ten or twelve. He is now on the Gloster side, where the whole horse of the enemy are collected.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully and with the greatest attachment,

Your Excellency's most obst.
James McHenry.

His Excellency
Gov. Lee.

George Washington to Thomas Sim Lee [32a]
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Head Quarters, Chatham [N. J.] 27th August 1781

Sir—

Official Accounts which I have received, giving me reason to expect the Arrival of a powerful Fleet of our Allies very soon in the Chesapeak, if not already Arrived; this Expectation, together with some other Circumstances not necessary at present to detail to you, have induced me to make a total Alteration in the concerted operations of this Campaign. In consequence, I am now marchg. a very considerable Detachment from the American Army, with the whole of the French Troops, immediately to Virginia.

As our Hopes of Success against Ld Cornwallis in a great Measure depend on the Dispatch and Celerity of our Movements, I have to request in the most earnest Manner all the Aid and Assistance from your Excellency that we may have Occasion for and have Reason to expect from your State; among these the Means of Transportation from the Head of Elk to the Point of our operations, will be among the most Essential; all the Water Craft, that can be procured suitable for the Carriage of an Army, with their Artillery, Baggage, etc., will be needed, and should be ready at the Head of Elk by the 8th of Septr. A quantity of Forage will also be necessary for the Cattle which will unavoidably attend the Army. As I shall probably be disappointed of a Quantity of salted Provisions, which

[32] Printed in *A Sidelight on History,* pp. 54-55.
[32a] Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington,* XXIII, 57-58.

cannot with safety be conveyed from the Eastern States, I must beg your Excellency to pay particular Attention to that Article, if any is to be obtained in your State. Other Aids as well in Provisions as other Articles, will probably be needed, which cannot at this moment be particularly specified.

I communicate My Intentions to you, and have Confidence, that I shall receive every Aid and Assistance that is in your Power, towards their Execution.

I expect to have no Occasion to call on you for the Aid of Men, further than your State Troops which are ordered to be raised, and which I hope you have already compleated.

Mr. Robert Morriss [33] will have the principal Agency in procuring the Water Transportation mentioned in this Letter; perhaps nothing more will be expected from your Excellency in that Article, than to afford Mr. Morriss every Aid which he may stand in need of in their Procurement of the Craft, which I am persuaded you will do with Readiness and Decision.

The Moment is critical, the Opportunity is precious, the prospect is most happily favorable. I hope that no Supineness, or Want of Exertions on our own part may prove the Means of a fatal Disappointment.

I have the honour to be, with great sincerity of esteem and regard, Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

Geo. Washington

P. S. Our Forage will be principally wanted at the Head of Elk, and from thence on the Route to George Town.

To his Excellency Governor Lee, of Maryland

James McHenry to Thomas Sim Lee [34]

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Ruffins Ferry,
28 Augt. 1781.

My dear Sir:

If you will keep a secret, I will tell you one; but if you do not choose to keep it, read no further. The 30th of this month, the Count de Grasse was to sail from the West Indies with a large fleet and troops *for the Chesapeak.* You know that he is superior to Rodney. He may not, however, have sailed on the day fixed. His arrival is very important to Maryland. But there must be a race between him and his antagonist. If the latter gains Chesapeak first and the British squadron now at New York should remain there, Clinton and Cornwallis may be both out of our power. For I do not conceive that the French can effect an entrance in the harbor of New York or lay long enough before it to reduce the place by blockade, while Rodney in the Chesapeak may hold out against

[33] Robert Morris (1734-1806), Superintendent of Finance, 1781-1784.
[34] Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 55-56.

any possible force. In this case, the experiment may fall upon Charlestown. You see, my dear Governor, upon what a thread great good or great evil to our country is suspended.

As this is a communication of the most confidential nature and of the utmost importance to be kept secret, I am well assured it will be sacredly preserved.

The enemy appear to be apprized with respect to their danger, and even to be waivering with respect to their conduct. But they are making York very strong, and we are taking measures to prevent his Lordship from retreating by land to Carolina. This would be a daring attempt; and circumstanced as he is, and delighting in difficulties as much as a Hannibal, a Scipio, or a Caesar, he may not think it too hazardous to put in practice. However, I do not believe he will rest his safety on such an issue; but that he will rely upon his troops where he is, the arrival of Rodney, or a relief, should the Count de Grasse gain the Chesapeak.

Adieu, my dear Sir.

Most affectionately and respectfully,
James McHenry

A propos, should the State make me a civil man, I must beg a week or two's indulgence in this quarter, but this will be a hereafter consideration.

Thomas Sim Lee to George Washington [35]

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Aug. 30, 1781
In Council

Sir:

We are honored by your Excellency's letter of the 27th and we receive with the greatest Satisfaction the Intelligence of the Approach of the Fleet of our generous Ally.

You may rely Sir, on every Exertion that is possible for us to make to accelerate the Movements of the Army on an Expedition, the Success of which must hasten the Establishment of the Independence of America, and relieve us from many of the Calamities of war.

Orders have been issued to impress every Vessel belonging to the State, and forwarding them without delay to the Head of Elk.

But we are sorry to inform your Excellency, that since the Enemy has had Possession of the Bay, our Number of sea Vessels and Craft, has been so reduced by Captures, that we are apprehensive what remains will not transport so considerable a Detachment.

We have directed the State officers to procure immediately by Purchase or Seizure, five thousand Head of Cattle and a large Quantity of Flour.

There is very little salt Provision in the State, [what] can be obtained, we trust will be collected.

Part of the Provision will be deposited at the Head of Elk, Baltimore Town, and George Town.

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[35] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 588.

Most of the Cattle will be kept in good Pastures, not far distant from the Bay and Rivers, so that they may with Ease be forwarded to any Point where they may be required.

We have directed sufficient Quantities of Forage to be laid in, at the Head of Elk, Baltimore Town and George Town for the use of the Army.

The third regiment consisting of about six hundred Men under the command of Colo Adams [36] marched from this City last Tuesday; and about seven hundred of the new Levies will move in a few Days.

Every Aid that can be given Mr. Morris will be afforded with the utmost Chearfulness and Alacrity.

I have the honor to be. . .

Thos. S. Lee

[36] Lt. Col. Peter Adams, of Maryland, who commanded the 3rd Md. Regt. from Jan. 1781, to Apr. 1783.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater. By A. Aubrey Bodine. Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, Inc., 1954. Distributed by Hastings House, New York. 144 pp. $10.

Since the earliest years of photography the camera's lens has been a useful complement to the historian's eye. In some important instances (as in Brady's Civil War coverage and, later, in certain still and motion-picture documentaries) the camera itself is the historian. Yet behind even the most perfect camera there must be human intelligence and integrity. When there is also great artistry, the result can be breathtakingly beautiful. A. Aubrey Bodine's *Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater* is the product of photographic artistry and integrity unsurpassed anywhere in the world. Wider in scope than his earlier book, *My Maryland*, this documentation of tidewater Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia records the happier or more photogenic aspects of the Chesapeake country in scenes reflecting the past and the present—from the Virginia capes to the Susquehanna Flats, from the Norfolk Naval Base to Aberdeen Proving Grounds, from the Cliffs of Calvert to the National Capitol. The sociologist might complain that *Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater*, by omitting scenes revealing the harsher aspects of tidewater life, does not present a full, well-rounded documentation. To this Mr. Bodine might reply that such matters are best left to the sociologist. In any case, his book achieves a sustained note of serenity and grace. It is, indeed, a work of rare and compelling beauty.

A sense of history runs through these pages. It is manifest in such photographs as those of St. Clements Island, where Lord Baltimore's colonists landed; of the last of the Bay country's tide mills that stands on an estuary of Mobjack Bay, where " grain was ground for Washington's army during the siege of Yorktown " ; of gallant old sailing ships rotting at their wharves or, as in the case of the three-masted ram *Levin J. Marvel*, still anachronistically plying the Bay. It comes still closer to the present day in the photograph of the B. & O.'s last double-header steam-engine train streaking across the Susquehanna River Bridge, and in one of Baltimore's Long Dock crowded with melon boats—a scene that disappeared within the last decade as motor-truck hauling took the melon trade away from the skipjacks, bugeyes, and other small sailing vessels.

The pictures speak with superb eloquence, but the accompanying text is excellent, too. The introduction by Mark S. Watson is gracefully informative, providing certain biographical facts about Mr. Bodine that might otherwise have remained unknown. The photographer's own viewpoint is

very winningly put forward in a few pages of explanatory notes which have something of the quality of a familiar essay. The introductory pages headed " Bay of Yesterday," " Bay Today," " Capes to Canal," and " Resources of the Bay " are skillfully handled and the picture captions show evidence of painstaking care as to factual details. There are pleasing endpapers by Yardley and a good index, which the earlier book lacked. It should be a matter of local pride that both of Mr. Bodine's books have been printed in Baltimore by a new and marvelously successful process that has set a new standard for photographic reproduction.

R. P. Harriss

Thomas Bray. By H. F. Thompson. London: S. P. C. K. (distributed in U. S. A. by Macmillan), 1954. 119 pp. $2.50.

The Reverend Doctor Thomas Bray was one of the outstanding ecclesiastics of 18th century Anglicanism. Prior to 1700 Anglicanism was limited to the British Isles and to a few scattered chaplaincies in those parts of the world where British traders had settled. The beginning of the 19th century saw the Church of England well established throughout the British Empire and the United States. If the praise for this accomplishment could be given to one man only, Thomas Bray should receive such praise. He was the principal founder for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge which is still one of the outstanding publishers of Anglican literature. He founded the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts which continues to this day as the chief missionary support of Anglicanism throughout the world. He founded the Bray Associates, a trusteeship whose financial support has been the cause of many educational and religious activities outside the British Isles. Not only Episcopalians, but all Americans should be grateful for his efforts in founding lending libraries throughout the British colonies in America. In many cases these libraries provided the only educational stimulation for many isolated Americans. Marylanders will be especially interested in Dr. Bray because his efforts brought about the establishment of the Episcopal Church as the State Church of Maryland from 1704 to 1776. Bray spent only about six months in the Maryland province as deputy for the Bishop of London, but without him it is doubtful if many of our colonial churches would ever have been built.

Other writers have dealt with Bray previously. Maryland's own Dr. Steiner was the author of the Maryland Historical Society's publication on Bray. The *Historical Magazine* and the *Church Historical Society* of the Episcopal Church have had articles and booklets about Bray. J. W. Lyddecker published a biography of him, and Mr. Thompson acknowledges his dependence upon these works, but he has added considerable material from the Bray MSS in Sion College, London, which has not been previously published. Bray bequethed his manuscripts to Sion College, and they have never been worked through completely. These manuscripts

contain a wealth of material about colonial America, and we are in Mr Thompson's debt for the insights he has given us from these records.

English writers and publishers have a happy faculty of producing "little books" with a wealth of factual material about important subjects, and *Thomas Bray* is such a "little book"—easy to read quickly, yet capable of giving a well rounded picture of a great man.

Small errors creep in easily when one is not familiar with the scene. Thus Annapolis is misspelled (pp. 51, 52, *et seq.*); the original act for establishing the church in Maryland provided for thirty, not twenty-five, parishes (p. 14), but these are minor discrepancies which in no way mar an essentially fine book.

NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER

Baltimore, City of Promise. Edited by ALBERT J. SILVERMAN. Baltimore: Department of Education, [1953]. xiii, 375 pp.

This broad canvas of the City of Baltimore, a cooperative enterprise undertaken by pupils of the Senior High Schools, is a remarkable piece of work. The story of Baltimore, past and present, is divided into two parts, "Taking Stock of Our Resources" and "Meeting Our Needs," each split into six chapters. Students of twelve schools are responsible for the material in the individual chapters. Three features are immediately apparent: the coverage of every aspect of the Baltimore scene, the existence of very little overlapping, and the presence of an historical thread throughout the volume.

Logically, the initial chapter, "A Goodly Heritage," deals with Baltimore's historical background and its principal events. One might quarrel with the amount of space devoted to the Patterson-Bonaparte romance—but this is understandable when one notes that the section was penned by the girls of Eastern. More important is the omission of any except incidental mention of such figures as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, John Eager Howard, and John Pendleton Kennedy. Also missing is reference to Baltimore as the scene of the first three presidential nominating conventions in 1831-32, though every other conceivable "first" is covered adequately.

Chapters on the people, geography, government, economic resources, housing, education, protection, health, etc., mesh smoothly; and many agencies currently active are described fully and clearly. In only one place—the Forest Park section on resources—does the machinery of compilation appear baldly in view. The chapter on the schools has more than a smattering of the jargon peddled by the progressive "educationists," but one gathers that this is merely a reflection of what actually exists today. Each chapter has at its end a list of references "for further reading and study"; and one fails to find anywhere mention of Hamilton Owens' admirable *Baltimore on the Chesapeake.*

The pictures, plans, and charts are well chosen and numerous, and the

superior printing is a tribute to the excellent work of H. G. Roebuck & Son. Errors are few, but even those should have been caught in a book with the auspices of this one. There is no doubt, however, that the volume will serve as a most useful text in the school system; and there is a promise of revision " from time to time."

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Loyola College

Maryland Today. By HARRY BARD. New York: Oxford Book Co., 1954. iii, 188 pp. $1.50.

Though *Maryland Today* is primarily a text for secondary school use, college students, teachers, librarians, writers on local topics, and even officeholders may consult it frequently and with profit, for it is an excellent summary of the structures, services, and problems of local and state governments.

In his first chapter the author furnishes a background for his book with brief summaries of Maryland's people, its geography, and its history. He follows with discussions of the constitution and of the structures and functions of state, county, and municipal governments. By organizing his later material under such broad headings as Education, Health and Recreation, Public Welfare, and Protecting Life and Property, he brings together the work of all agencies operating in each field. Clearly and concisely presented, the facts are backed by statistics which, in most cases, are as recent as 1953. Governmental changes made by the 1954 Legislature are included. The book is illustrated with charts, tables, and graphs and is well indexed. Each chapter ends with review and discussion questions for school use.

Dr. Bard's book is a complete rewrite of a former work, *Maryland: The State and Its Government,* which appeared in 1943 and went through two successful editions. Its appearance is timely, for modern pressures are creating increasing problems for state and local governments, the governments with which citizens come into closest and most direct contact. It comes at a time, too, when schools are giving increasing emphasis to training young people at the local level for active citizenship. Long a pioneer in this field, Dr. Bard—and, incidentally, the publisher—merits commendation for putting so much time and effort into a book with such a limited field. Soaring production costs make such ventures risky for publishers and largely a labor of love for authors, especially in a state with as small a school population as Maryland. Yet such books are necessary, valuable, and welcome. A library which does not provide several reference copies of *Maryland Today* or a secondary school which fails to provide at least a class-sized set will be failing its patrons or students.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

The History of the 110th Field Artillery. By JOHN P. COOPER, JR. Baltimore: War Records Div., Md. Hist. Soc., 1953. viii, 318 pp. $5.

The artilleryman has his woes. While his colleagues in arms are deciphering secret codes, or inventing new explosives, or engaging the enemy hand-to-hand, he sits in a mudhole working a slide rule. His ears ring. He hasn't even seen the troops he is trying to obliterate; he'll never see the shells they send his way. He is, at last, spared the care and feeding of the infernal mules; instead, he is the servant of a wheeled monster that will mire down in a heavy dew. When after sweaty grubbing and laborious calculations he has his gun in place and nearly ready to fire, someone sights a winged speck overhead, a hostile observation plane: the command comes down to roll his caisson to another location, to do it all over again.

John P. Cooper, Jr., of the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Company of Baltimore, has been an artilleryman since joining the National Guard as a private a full quarter of a century ago. During more than four years on active duty in World War II, he was a lieutenant colonel and the commanding officer of the 110th Field Artillery Battalion (105 mm howitzer). He was, in fact, the only C. O. the 110th had from its activation through V-E Day. He has now written an official history of the 110th, and his old battalion comrades may well want to exercise one prerogative that is the artilleryman's alone, whatever his other frustrations: the firing of a salute.

For a Maryland institution, the 110th has a remarkably short history. No artillery existed in the Maryland National Guard until late in 1915, when socialites aroused by the proceedings in Europe formed a battery and practiced close order drill above Richmond Market. In 1917, this nucleus was twice expanded, to battalion and then regiment, and twice rechristened, ending up at Fort McClellan, Ala., as the 110th F. A. Regt., a component of the 29th Division. It sailed for France in June, 1918, but when the Armistice came the 110th still hadn't quite reached the front.

The 110th was reactivated in the '20s as Maryland's National Guard artillery unit. Beverly Ober was long its colonel. In 1935 it traded its horseflesh in for trucks. Henry C. Evans was its commanding officer and the Pikesville Armory its headquarters when another Federal call to active duty came, in 1941.

Colonel Cooper's summary of these events starts even farther back, with a résumé of Marylanders' artillery activities in all the nation's wars (save only that with Spain); it includes two paragraphs on the Korean War. But his story proper begins with the arrival of the 110th at cold, rutty, desolate Fort Meade in February, 1941, and reaches its climax in April, 1945, with his cannoneers swimming in the Elbe River, out of contact with either Germans or Russians.

Many vicissitudes lay between. In March, 1942, the 29th Division was reconstructed in the new triangular pattern, which meant four battalions of artillery but no regiment. The 110th abruptly shrank from several thousand men to less than 1,000. (Colonel Cooper appends a detailed chapter on the 224th Battalion, which also saw the war through as a unit

of the 29th.) Similarly, the original Marylanders were gradually replaced in almost every instance.

Throughout, the activities of the 110th corresponded with those of the parent 29th Division, the history of which has previously been sketched more than once. In fact, although the 29th hit the Normandy beaches on D-day, most of the 110th had to wait until D-plus-one. The 29th had a far higher ratio of wartime casualties. Neither of its Medal of Honor winners was from the 110th. But the artilleryman learns early to subsist on short rations even of glory.

What Colonel Cooper has done is to reconstruct, from after-action reports and several diaries, a restrained, factual but deeply prideful narrative of the training and the combat, the sorrows and the occasional joys, of what stands forth as a typical artillery outfit. His book is of especial interest locally for the Maryland past (and future) of the 110th, and the Maryland Historical Society's War Records Division is to be commended for its help in assuring the book's publication; even as Colonel Cooper is to be praised for his foresight in starting early to preserve the battalion's history, and for his diligence in preparing the text.

The History of the 110th Field Artillery is perhaps not completely evocative of artillery life—certainly, not of typical artillery speech—and where space required a choice between a headquarters staff view of events and that of the lowly ammo handler, Colonel Cooper has generally chosen the former, with its wider, clearer overall focus. A sharp contrast between the two approaches is provided in his quotations from several diaries kept by enlisted members of the World War I 110th, particularly Russell Lord, which better bring back the feeling of everyday life.

There is anecdotal material in Colonel Cooper's book, however, and a series of good photographs, and lists of personnel. It will long be useful both as a work of reference and as an account of some phases of the greatest of this nation's wars.

Beyond that? The histories of military units—those that qualify for publication—can perhaps be rated three ways: as of interest to members of the unit concerned, to old soldiers generally, or to the reading public as a whole. This last form of expertness occurs seldom, and usually requires the help of stirring events and nationally famous authors. Colonel Cooper has scored, perhaps, somewhere between expert and sharpshooter.

James H. Bready

Cotton Mather, First Significant Figure in American Medicine. By Otho T. Beall, Jr., & Richard H. Shryock. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1954. ix, 241 pp. $4.

Cotton Mather has so often been singled out as the embodiment of all that was bad in New England Puritanism that he has not become a popular American figure. Condemned as a pompous old theocrat, a re-

actionary, a meddlesome fool, and a participant in the witchcraft trials, Mather has paid the price of being a leading figure in a culture which has gone out of fashion. Attempts have been made to rescue Mather's reputation, but none have been more successful than this account of him as a man of medicine. The specialized knowledge of the authors in the history of medicine has enabled them to recognize a new dimension in the work of the old theocrat, and, surprisingly enough, Mather turns out to be more progressive than most of his contemporaries, including physicians, regarding mental illness, a germ (animalculae) theory of disease, and the effectiveness of inoculation for small-pox. Chapter VII, which deals with the role of Mather in the Boston small-pox epidemic of 1721, is not only an important story in preventive medicine, but a fascinating episode as well.

This work places Mather in the medical background of his own age and serves as a general introduction to the medical knowledge of the period, but the main emphasis is on Mather's hitherto unpublished medical treatise, *The Angel of Bethesda.* Almost half of the volume is devoted to selected sections from the *Angel*, whose vigorous prose, colorful figures of speech and weird cures convey the tone of Mather's thought as no amount of description could do. The analysis and evaluation of the *Angel* and Mather's place in the history of medicine, along with the light thrown on the relation of theology to science in Colonial America, makes this study of Mather a fundamental contribution to early American history.

FRANCIS C. HABER

Peabody Institute Library

George Washington. (Vol. VI: Patriot and President). By DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN. New York: Scribner's, 1954. xlv, 529 pp. $7.50.

Those readers who have valued Dr. Freeman's contributions to historiography will find in these pages his last written words. The final paragraph of the last chapter, carefully reworked, lay on his writing board on the day of his death. His was a pen devoted to the imposing task set before it. Dumas Malone, in an inspiring introductory essay, pays tribute to this heroic man of letters. " He took nothing on secondary authority, and at times he carried almost to the degree of fault his independence of the conclusions of others."

The sixth and final volume covers the period from December 23, 1783, when Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the American Army, to March 4, 1793, at the eve of the second administration. Six years of his life are beyond the pen of his distinguished biographer. Circumstance has prevented what would have been an unbroken narrative (with a planned seventh volume) of the returned planter, the Presidential period, and the last Mount Vernon years.

As in the five previous volumes, the style is meticulous, detailed, and authoritative. (There are 2,264 footnotes in the sixteen chapters.) Dr.

Freeman's account of events is the result of painstakingly careful research and synthesis. Professor Malone writes, "If Freeman did not know precisely where Washington was and what Washington was doing every day of his adult life, as he did in the case of Lee, he came as near to it as is humanly possible. . . ." The author and his subject are as one. He lives with Washington in Mount Vernon and feels with him a growing concern for the Confederation. ("We are fast verging to anarchy and confusion.") With ratification of the Constitution, Washington is called to head the new nation. Through the turbulence of that first administration, which Dr. Freeman describes in some detail, Washington is pictured as the nucleus of national unity. "His was the only voice heeded above the noise of friction in the tension and dissension that prevailed. . . . Wherever he was there was strength simply in his nearness." Unfortunate it is that we do not have the final overall interpretation and analysis of the character of Washington that was planned in the final volume.

What conclusion did his researches bring Dr. Freeman? He wrote to his editor, "The more I study Washington, the more I am convinced that the great reputation he enjoyed with his contemporaries and with men of the next generation was entirely justified. He was greater than any of us believed he was."

LOUIS M. VANARIA

Teachers College,
Columbia University

The South in American Literature: 1607-1900. By JAY B. HUBBELL. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1954. xix, 987 pp. $10.

This chunky volume is massive to the touch and impressive to the sight; in other words, it is a landmark. For anyone concerned with the study of American civilization it will be, as General Albert Pike observed of a rare book in early Arkansas, "like the coming into port of a rich argosy to its owner. . . ." The only earlier attempt in the field was Montrose J. Moses' 1910 work, which is barely comparable. Dr. Hubbell, a Duke scholar who is a native of western Virginia and a former Vice President of the Modern Language Association, points out that articles on Southern literature "published before 1900, whatever their biographical value, are practically worthless as criticism" and that most articles on Southern history "written before 1910 [are] prejudiced or otherwise inaccurate" (pp. 883, 889). He has perforce had to allot an appreciable amount of space to biographical and historical data in order to establish that readjusted criterion mandatory for taking the true measure of his subject. This subject he divides into six sections.

The first, on the Colonial Period: 1607-1765, requires 83 pages; the second, on the Revolution, 77 pages; the third, "The Era of Good Feeling": 1789-1830, 154 pages; the fourth, "The Road to Disunion": 1830-65, which Hubbell deems "the high-water mark of American literary achievement" (p. 602), 365 pages; the fifth, "The New South":

1865-1900. 141 pages; and the fifth, an Epilogue: "The Twentieth Century," 40 pages. The Colonial and Revolutionary authors are discussed by Colonies, those in sections III and IV largely by individuals, and those in sections V and VI by individuals and general topics. Then follows the 91-page Bibliography, which in itself is worth the price of admission. This is subdivided into "General Studies," "Important Topics," and "Individual Writers" from Allston to Zubly—all as up to date as December, 1953.

The author concedes that there are several approaches to so huge a problem. He admits that he has scanted "the orators, scientists, historians, and playwrights" and the French literature of Louisiana (p. xiii) and, in a private letter, adds that he was unable to "trace in detail the development of the Southern novel." The cause was economic: his manuscript was originally scaled for two largish volumes. This reviewer has read every word of the resultant single volume. In so doing he finds only one significant fault: an adequate, but by no means complete, index—which, in a reference work of this scope, is deplorable. He has detected only five misprints (pp. 97, 150, 565, 623, 946) and two cases of repetition (pp. 244 n. and 463 n. are also in the back). The following minor errors have been noted. . . . Page 169: George C. Dangerfield has shown that this was "The Era of Good Feelings." Page 198: John Adams was conversing not with Major "Langhorne" but with Major William Langborn [1756-1814]. Pages 249, 296: from the *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.* (April, 1954) we now know that the author of *Letters by a South-Carolinian* was in fact H. B. Grigsby. Page 496: the "exact date" of novelist Caruthers' marriage *is* known; he was in Manhattan during 1829-35 (not 1830-36). and, as I tried to indicate in *Chronicler of the Cavaliers,* he did indeed work with a New York writer (J. K. Paulding). Page 923: there are three, not two, biographies of Charles Carroll, the third being Ellen Hart Smith's (Harvard, 1942). Page 961: the best biography of Captain John Smith is not J. G. Fletcher's but Bradford Smith's (Philadelphia, 1953).

This book's central theses and its revisions of tradition are several and convincing, its aid to serious researcher or casual inquirer admirable, and its occasional curiosa diverting (George Tucker owned a dog named "Metaphysics"). But its principal virtue lies in its honest absence of bias and its informed integration of "Southern" with "American" literary history. One conclusion—that the South generated only two major authors, Poe and Clemens—is dismaying. Another—that Southern literature "is hardly the best index to Southern achievements" and that the South's finest product "was not its cotton or tobacco or its literature but its men and women" (pp. xiii, 691)—is less than electrifying. But Prof. Hubbell has also concluded that "there was more and rather better writing in the Old South than is generally supposed"; and, in demonstrating this conclusion, he has enormously benefited the historiography of American culture.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1632-1640. Edited by SUSIE M. AMES. Washington: American Historical Assn., 1954. lxix, 189 pp.

By presenting a clear printed text of the first volume of the Accomack-Northampton county court records, Miss Susie M. Ames has continued her significant contributions to a better understanding of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the 17th century. Miss Ames wrote the Introduction, and Professor Francis S. Philbrick added a brief Prefatory Note and prepared the Subject Index, which unfortunately covers only the Introduction and the Prefatory Note.

Miss Ames' Introduction points out the key role of the county court in early Virginia. Her analysis of the business of the court, biographical sketches of its personnel, and description of the court record itself are excellent. The transcription and editing of the record text by the "expanded method" inspires confidence in its fidelity. This reviewer, however, feels that other editorial decisions were less wise. The failure to make a subject index for the text means that subjects not discussd by Miss Ames may be found only by a page-by-page search of the record. Hening's *Statutes,* known to students of Virginia history by the short title, are cited in full in the Prefatory Note, the Introduction, and the text—and in each instance, the words "Hereafter cited as Hening" follow.

Every student of Virginia's colonial history will find the Introduction and text of this volume of interest for their own reasons. This reviewer was especially interested in the specifications for the parsonage given on pages 43-44 and in the "box of tooles" and "silver forge" listed on page 143. The data on William Stone, a Commissioner of the Accomack-Northampton county court who later became the third proprietary governor, will interest students of Maryland's early years.

JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

Colonial Williamsburg

A Traveler's Guide to Historic Western Pennsylvania. By LOIS MULKEARN and EDWIN V. PUGH. Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1954. xxiii, 425 pp. $3.

This attractive and remarkably inexpensive guide-book, based to a large extent upon original research, should attain a great demand among the Sunday-afternoon motorists of western Pennsylvania and among all other persons who take delight in the history of that region. Western Marylanders with corresponding tastes will find the book useful in rounding out many a Maryland story of the days of Fort Cumberland or of the National Road.

The volume is concerned solely with the historical interests of the twenty-seven counties which occupy the western half of the state. (The eastern line of these is formed by Potter, Cameron, Clearfield, Blair, and

Bedford.) Begun as a revision of a similar guide which appeared in 1938, the *Traveler's Guide* has grown from 186 to 425 pages. The descriptions of the individual sites and remains—more than six hundred are listed—are organized loosely by county, and each county chapter is headed by a well-drawn road map and a brief and general historical statement. At the end of the work appear a thirteen-page bibliography and thirty-three pages of index, while a pocket contains a road map, adequate yet of manageable size, of the whole region.

Any guide-book presents itself as a broad target for criticism. The organization of the text by counties seems an excellent idea, though it scarcely justifies printing the twenty-five line article on the Pennsylvania Purchase Monument in three different chapters. It might have been well to end each county chapter with a very brief select bibliography of secondary works; this procedure would have necessitated a little repetition, but it would have cut the final bibliography down to manageable size. Pittsburgh landmarks are treated with perhaps an excess of minute detail, yet no map is provided to show the modern street relations of the principal historical spots within the city. (Twenty-eight maps, alas, demand another.) The distinction between sites and historic remains, often important to purposeful travelers, is usually but not always manifest. Misspellings, though deceptively uniform, are few. The Quaker term "laid down" (disbanded, p. 327) when properly used is transitive. The occasional weakness of style is relieved, even redeemed, by lively quotations from the source materials. The index, full though it is, unfortunately excludes the names of the historic spots themselves; the reader who does not know his counties may therefore face a long search through the table of contents. But when all is said and done, as a guide-book this remains an impressive and a very useful work.

HENRY J. YOUNG

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

A History of The York County Academy. York: Hist. Soc. of York Co., 1952. 270 pp.

The York Academy was founded in 1787 and existed as a secondary school until 1948, when it entered the junior college field. This book, then, is the record of 161 years of educational activity and philosophy. Organized as a classical, college preparatory school, the academy for years was the leading educational institution in the county on the secondary level. As such it also became the community's cultural center, and within its walls were held the county's first theatrical performances, the early teacher training classes, and the first Sunday School. For nearly a century and a half the Academy never *graduated* a student, but passed him on to life thoroughly imbued with a belief that always there would be more to learn. The value of this history lies in the fact that such institutions have

practically disappeared from the American scene. Careful research has unearthed the names of many trustees and teachers and of a far lesser listing of pupils. Not a few people in all three categories have Mayland connections. There are interesting discussions of such widely divergent subjects as courses of study, tuitions, texts, scientific apparatus, sports and societies—and even of janitors—at different periods of the Academy's existence. *The York Academy* might have been a dull work, but casual readers will find it colorful and interesting while educators and historians will find it fascinating.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

Pioneer's Mission: The Story of Lyman Copeland Draper. By WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE. Madison: State Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, 1954. xiv, 384 pp. $4.

There are now three monuments to the memory of Lyman C. Draper: the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Draper Collection, and this excellent biography by William B. Hesseltine. As its chief founder and guardian angel for many years Draper was largely responsible for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin becoming one of the foremost of its kind. His collection, containing 478 volumes of manuscripts, is still indispensable to the study of the early history of the Old West. *Pioneer's Mission* is an intimate account of his personal life, ill-health, financial difficulties, long journeys, and sacrifices during the building of the first two monuments. In the period from 1840 to 1864, for instance, he traveled more than 41,000 miles, often under the most difficult conditions imaginable, in quest of historical facts and documents.

Though Draper collected his information to write the *Lives of Pioneers* and loved to be called the "Plutarch of Western History," he never published any biographies of much historical value. Lacking literary ability, he procrastinated and excused himself from writing by pleading ill-health and by going in search of additional information. In a sense this was fortunate, for otherwise many valuable manuscripts might have been lost or destroyed.

Perhaps Dr. Hesseltine would have written a more useful book if he had described and evaluated more fully the historical importance of the material in the Draper Collection. In a general way he makes it evident that Draper had a flair for the collecting of heroic and dramatic episodes and the recording of the verbal accounts of the descendants and acquaintances of the early pioneers. It seems that Draper gathered his information without much discrimination and that he neglected social, economic, and political data.

Dr. Hesseltine documents this volume in his thoroughly scholarly way. In it he makes incidental contributions to the general cultural and political history of the period, for Draper was a state superintendent of

schools in Wisconsin, a northern anti-abolitionist who felt the full scorn of the abolitionists, a devout Baptist who was converted to Spiritualism, and a Democratic politician who became involved in a political scandal.

ROBERT LEROY HILDRUP

Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia

The Tilghman's Island Story, 1659-1954. By RAYMOND R. SINCLAIR. [Easton?] 1954. 150 pp. $3.25.

In reading *The Tilghman's Island Story*, one can almost hear a long time resident, a waterman, perhaps, telling stories in his own words of that Talbot County island in the Chesapeake. Using records and reminiscences, the author has produced a collection of facts and anecdotes about the people and the island that makes a useful addition to Maryland's local histories.

Ensign on a Hill. By JUDITH ROBINSON. Baltimore, 1954. 162 pp.

The one-hundredth anniversary of the Church Home and Hospital and the fiftieth anniversary of the Alumnae Association of its School of Nursing are commemorated in this little volume. The beginnings and development of that institution, its difficulties, financial and otherwise, its successes and stories of the people who made them are recounted. The author tells the story with touches of humor, but also with respect and love. While the book will interest primarily those connected with the institution, it is interesting to the layman to note, through it, how recent are many of the hospital and nursing practices now taken for granted. The book reveals yet another facet of Baltimore's history.

Index, Volumes 1-75 (1877-1951), The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Edited by EUGENE E. DOLL. Philadelphia: The Society, 1954. xv, 1170 pp. $60.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania deserves the thanks and congratulations of all of us for this handsome, invaluable index. In scope and execution it stands alone beside Swem's *Virginia Historical Index*. Twelve years of effort by a large and devoted staff and a very substantial subsidy have produced this volume which unlocks the historical treasures in the first 75 volumes of *The Pennsylvania Magazine*.

One must wish that a list of the editors of the *Magazine* and the volumes for which they were responsible had been included. The unwary user who neglects to read the introduction should be warned that the *Index* is not

complete. The historian attempting to identify an obscure person, for instance, as well as the genealogist, ought to consult " Lists, unindexed or partially indexed " (ten full columns, pp. 613-618) and " Genealogical materials incompletely indexed " (five full columns, pp. 385-387) before concluding that the person he seeks is not in some way identified in the *Magazine*. Though it seems necessary to note these facts, our praise and our enthusiam for the *Index* remain unbounded.

F. S.

Emigrants from the Palatinate to the American Colonies in the 18th Century. By FRIEDRICH KREBS and MILTON RUBINCAM. NORRISTOWN: Pennsylvania German Soc., 1953. 32 pp. $1.

This list of emigrants with German state of origin indicated is the result of the collaboration of a German archivist and an American genealogist. Tracing a German family farther back than the immigrant is nearly always a difficult genealogical problem. The compilers of this pamphlet provide the genealogist a useful list of persons who, according to records in Germany, emigrated to the American colonies in the 18th century. More than 100 family names are given. The Pennsylvania German Society promises that other lists of this sort will be published in the future.

NOTES AND QUERIES

CECIL COUNTY IN 1749

Joshua Hempstead (1678-1758), of New London, Connecticut, was a versatile New Englander—" farmer, surveyor, house and ship carpenter, attorney, stone-cutter, sailor, and trader," and he held numerous local offices. He kept an extensive diary, dating from 1711 to 1758, an important source of Connecticut local history, which was published as Volume I of the *Collections of the New London County Historical Society* (Providence, 1901).

In 1749 Hempstead visited his sister, Lucy H. Hartshorne, who lived in Cecil County, Maryland. He went to see Governor Belcher at Burlington, New Jersey, apparently on official business, before proceeding to the Free State. Hempstead's account of the days he spent in Cecil County is full of interest. He described the countryside, visited the Principio Furnace, met with one " J. Chandlee " a member of the family of clockmakers, and, withal, gives us a welcome insight into the County and State more than 200 years ago.

Since the whereabouts of the original diary are not now known, it has been necessary to rely on the text as printed in 1901. Identifications of persons and places when necessary and as possible are provided. In a few cases words or parts of words are supplied in brackets. The generous assistance of Mrs. Henry S. Young, of Elkton, in preparing this note for publication is gratefully acknowledged. The pertinent sections taken from *Collections*, I, 520, 522-525, follow:

" Mond June 12h [1749]. I am preparing for my Intended Journey for Mr Winthrop [1] to Gov Belcher [2] att Burlington. & if plese God I gett well there then for Maryland to Seek my youngest Sister Lucy.[3] . . .

" Mond [June] 26 fair till late in ye aftern a Smart Thunder Showre p[er]haps an hour or 2. I Set out Early in the morning & Traveled through Chester County [Penn.] uneven Land & Rocky about 10 or 12 mile to wilmington [Del.] to breakfast having Crossed Brandywine Bridge over a Small River that Runs 100 mile into the Country about a mile from Willmington & as much from Christeen ferry.[4] here is a fine

[1] Probably John Winthrop, of New London, Conn.

[2] Jonathan Belcher (1681/2-1757), Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 1729-41, and Governor of New Jersey, 1746-57.

[3] Lucy Hempstead married John Hartshorne. See *Collections*, I, x.

[4] Christiana, Del.

Town a Market-house & Several Topsail vessels at ye wharffs fine Br[ick] houses & above all abounds with Intervall me[a]dow on both Sides of the River Christians they Say 2 or 3000 Acres & on the South Side over against ye Town they keep the water out of it by Damms & Raise Indian corn oats hemp flax & Barly as well as Grass Exceeding Rich. here I met with J Chandlee [5] a clock maker a man belonging to Notingham & was going home (after a little Stay.) he lives within about 5 mile of Hartshorns.[6] I gladly Joyned his Company & wee Traveled together & aftern got to Ogle Town [Del.] & Rid through a Scatering Town called Newport & Sometimes left ye P[ ] [7] at Ogle Town. I went to the house of ye old Widow Lucas where Lives the Young Widow Daughter of Solomon Coit [8] for whom I Carryed a Letter & d[elivere]d it &c & whilst I was there came along Peter Douglass Son of Cuzn Wm Douglass Decd but he would not know me altho I told him who I was & the Relation yt was between us & also that maried him to Lydia ye Daughter of Cuz. Ben fox Decd. he acknowledged that he was Son of William Doughlass & yt he lived at Colchester near ye grt Pond & had a Brother John & Joshua, but having a wife & children here would not own he had one & children at New London [Conn.] & So wee parted & I rid along with my companion a Clockmaker & late in the aftern came up a Smart T[h]under Showre & wee put in to a Irish cribb house & pulld of our Saddles & Staid the Showre over. much Rain. the Rain drove the men & weomen (10 or dozn of them) out of ye field where they were Reaping into the house & being wet within Side as well as without their Tonges Run like mill clocks. & haveing an Irish brogue on their Tongue I could understand but little they Said & after the Rain was over wee Stood along to clockmakers house in Notingham in the Evening by daylight & no body being at home he told me he would go with me but bid me Stand along a plain Road. & Soon a young man whome he Sent overtook me & went with me to my kinsman wher I arived about 8 a Clock & found my Sister & her 2 Sons Jonathan & Thomas & her Daughter Lucy all well to my great Comfort in Every Respect both of a Temporate & Spiritual Nature (Excepting that my Sister hath lost her memory is Something disordered in her Reason but is Quiet & orderly & takes a little Care of Some perticular things but her Daughter orders the family and very prudently).

" Tuesd [June] 27 fair. I Taryed at my kinsmans a week & was one Day of it Invited to a Reaping & both my kinsmen with me at Mr James Denorritees an Irish[man] that formerly was at my house & brot Letters & Carryed one to whom I Sold a Horse &c. very well Entertained after

[5] A member of the Chandlee family of clockmakers. The immigrant, Benjamin, had died in 1743. Benjamin, Jr., (1723-91) founded the firm of Chandlee & Sons, of Nottingham.

[6] The Hartshorne place called " New Connaught Manor " is about a mile east of West Nottingham Presbyterian Church, near Colora.

[7] Apparently the name of a tavern in Ogletown.

[8] Solomon Coit was a merchant in New London, Conn.

the Country manner in Cribb houses a Dozen or more all Irish but wee. one Day this week Cuzn Jonathan Rid with mee to the ferry[9] over Susquahannah River about 6 mile S W nearest. about 2 mile from the mouth of ye River is the ferry & the River Seems to be about as wide as N. L. River is at the harbours mouth by Harris's & it Runs a long way into the County but is not navigable but about a mile further by Reason of Rocky Caled falls. afterward wee went to See the Iron works where they Runn Piggs for To make barr Iron off.[10] A great old building. it goes by a River that Runs into the Bay.[11] a Coave comes up here about 2 or 3 mile N E of the mouth of the River. there is 30 piggs now Cast yt Ly hot in the Sand as they Run out of a hole in the bottom or Lower End of the furnace in this form |—|—|—|—|—|—| the Large Bellows 2 pr go by water & the fire goes not out after it is once blown up untill the Season of ye year comes about. the furnace I suppose is 20 foot high or more & is fed with oar [ore] & coal &c at the Top as if it were the Top of a Chimney all put in there. there they bring in Horse Carts the oar the Coal & oyster Shels & there Stayd two men Day & night. the Top of ye furnace is about breast high from the floor where they Stand to Tend it & ye flame Jets out Continually 15 Extinguisher by the oar Coal & Shels as they feed it. Each Couple Tend 24 hours in which time they Run or Cast twice. they have Small Baskets that hold about a peck & half & they put in a Cart in number of Baskets full of oar [ore] & a Certain Number of Baskets of Coal and a Certain Number of Baskets of oyster Shels. all in Exact Proportion and as the materials Consume below in the furnace they filled up at the Top & out of the Bottom beside the Iron yt is drawn off near a Day there is vast Quantities of Glass that Runs out Every now & then & is Tough & hangs togather like an ox Hide & they dray it away with such a hook as the Tanner pull up hides with & when it is Cool is as Brittle as any other Glass & they Cart it away & bestow it in waste places to mend the Cartways & Dams Even as Small Stones. (there is one man besides the 4 that Tend by Course that is Constantly breaking the Rock oar [ore] Small with a Large Hamer or Sledge) which lyes like a little hill near the Coave where it is Landed out of the Large Boats Something biger than our ferry Boat. the Storehouse is Strong & good. The Cole house large & poor & old, as also the Barn & Stable & most of the buildings Especially over the furnace. from hence wee went to Charles Town which Lyes on ye Bay Northwest about a mile S W from the head of Sd Bay at which there is a village that wee did not go to at the head of Northeast but Stayed a good while at Charles Town.[12] here is a New Town & Lyes

[9] Probably the Susquehanna Lower Ferry which crossed between present Havre de Grace and Perryville.

[10] Principio Furnace, established in 1715.

[11] Principio Creek.

[12] They stayed at Charlestown but did not go to Northeast, two towns on Northeast River, Cecil Co.

well on ye Bay for Trade but the water is Shallow not more than two fatham at highwater. quite a Cross a mile or 2 over & up to ye head here is one Long wharff well builded & a good Storehouse for goods & Weights & Scales for Tobacco & Press for it also, & Some few Pretty good buildings of Brick but most of wood & mean. I went to the house of Mr Bellamie & d[elivere]d a Letter to his wife which I brought from Horse Neck in Connecticut from her father Justice Lockwood.[13] it is about 6 or 7 mile from hence to Cuzn Hartshorne Triangular More S[outh]ward & Eastward. very poor soil most of what I have seen today. the Bay Called here at Charlestown Northeast is an arm of the Sea.

" July 2d Sunday I went to meeting with my 2 Nephews & Thomas to Notingham old Presbyterian meeting house where Brother Hartshorn & his Sons were buryed. about 5 mile. the ministers name is John Steel a Irishman & So are the greater part of the people.[14] a Large old house. no workmanship no gallarrys. the New Light party have an other house they go to where mr Samuel finly[15] preacheth & is less yn a mile further they Say, but he is gone to preach to day to a village[16] 4 or 5 mile further that he preaches to every 3d Sabath. the minister & people here are very modist in their apparel & in their houses mostly Log houses Cribb fashion. the Soil is mostly good & good fields of wheat. the Timer Large & good.

" Mond [July] 3d Rain in the afternoon. a Smart Showre. I was fitting up for my Journey home. I went with Cuzn Thomas to view his plantation a little above a mile of 100 & odd acres. but late bo[ugh]it it & dont Improve it yet. ye old Tennant is Still there where I was last week at Charlestown in the Northerly Side of Maryland. the head of the Bay called Northeast [River] Comes by it. this Bay is an arm of the Salt Sea that comes in by virginia 300 Mile S W from hence Several Leagues over in most places, it Lyes N E & S W nearest & leaves a great arm of Neck of Land on the S E Side Near the Sea & Many large Towns. the whole breadth of Maryland Crosseth this bay by an East and west line & virginia also att the Southerly End of this Neck. the great Rivers of Susuahannah near the head of it Emptys it Self on to this Bay, as also Potomek James's River & Charles River & All on the N W Side of S[ai]d Bay & there is the post Road to anopolis & virginia & North Carolina &c.

" Tues [July] 4 fair. I Set out for home between 9 & 10 having taken my Last farewell of my Sister Lucy. her 2 Sons & Daughters all Came with me to a Tavern[17] about 5 miles a fine Brick house Mr Mitchels

[13] James Lockwood was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Fairfield Co., Conn., in May, 1744.

[14] John Steel, minister of " Old Side " church, 1745-ca. 1753.

[15] Samuel Finley, minister of the " New Side " church, 1744-61, founder of West Nottingham Academy, and President of the College of New Jersey, 1761-66.

[16] Probably the town of Octararo.

[17] Possibly X Keys Tavern established by John White in 1717 near the Brick Meeting House. Later his grandson, Abner White, built a brick house on the site.

hard by Nottingham Quaker meeting house, which hath been lately burnt down & now Enlarged.[18] the Bottom of Stone is Laid. I left Lucy here & Stop at Ms Mitchels fathers Justice Galchel a New England man from Marvelhead a friend but he was from home & I did not Stop, & took leave of my 2 Nephews also & So Journeyed alone to Ogletown and got there about 4 in the aftern & Dined there with Ms Lucas & her Daughter the widow of Ivory Lucas Decd. they Entertained me very Bountifully. I oated my horse at ye Tavern close by. I Stayed here till after 6 & Recd a Letter &c for Mr Sol Coit. here are mostly wooden houses Cribb fashion & old, those that are newly built the logs are hewed & as thick as hog neck or thereabouts. after 6 in the afternoon I Set out from Ogletown for New Castle & having Rid about 2 mile in a very fine Level Road, I came to a Clump of very fine brick houses a Dozen or more & Several Taverns & is a place I Suppose of much Business at times.[19] it is ye head of Christeen Creek ye End of Water Carryage from Delawar River. here are 2 Sloops Lying dry at lowwater. a River Runs in a Bridge over it. a plain Road many fields first & then a Wood & the land thin & I got into New Castle by 8 & put by the ferry at Ezekiel Bags. . . .

" [On July 5, enroute to Philadelphia, Hempstead] Joyned Mr Rule & Johnstone both from Maryland to Philadelphia. the Sd Johnston is a Sterch Merchant & Says he made 1600 bushels of wheat into Sterch ye last year."

Port Tobacco—The Society for Restoration of Port Tobacco, Inc., has searched everywhere for a photograph or plans of the Court House that stood at Port Tobacco until 1892. Any one knowing the whereabouts of a picture or plan of this building will confer a great favor by writing the undersigned. A reward of $50 has been offered for an authentic photograph.

Mrs. Edward J. Edelen, Historian
Port Tobacco, Md.

Carolina Backcountry—The author of the volume reviewed in the June issue, pp. 159-160, is Charles Woodmason, not Woodman.

Chase Home—Author and editor regret the erroneous statement in the article on the Chase-Lloyd house (Sept. issue, p. 195) that the Chase

[18] The Brick Meeting House, built some years earlier. Apparently the fire occurred earlier than George Johnston, *History of Cecil County* (Elkton, 1881), p. 153, thought.
[19] Head of Christiana.

Home is or ever has been owned by the (Episcopal) Diocese of Maryland. The ownership is vested in an independent, self-perpetuating Board of Trustees.

Dudley—Would like to exchange data on Dudley family of Talbot Co. Will of earliest known ancestor dated 1702. Where was family before coming to Md.?

Mrs. Julius W. Melton
Box 244, Clinton, Miss.

Mudd–Matthews–Cockshutt—Need data from private or professional sources regarding English origin, background, or antecedents of Thos. Mudd (1647-1696) who came to St. Mary's Co. ca. 1655 from Eng. Dr. Thos. Matthews (d. 1676) who came to St. Mary's Co. ca. 1635 from Eng. John Cockshutt, who came to St. Mary's Co. ca. 1635.

Edgar Peterson
485 Madison Ave., New York 22.

Nelson—Need additional data on John L. Nelson (ca. 1791-1860), the diplomat, especially date of birth, whom he married, dates of birth and names of his two children, etc.

Coleman McCampbell
238 Madison Ave., New York 16.

Seabrook—Will appreciate any information about Seabrook family of Md. and Adams Co., Pa., whose immigrant ancestor, Wm., is supposed to have settled at Reisterstown ca. 1740. His son Moses had son Jesse whose son Wm. Johnston had son Wm. Luther Wesley (1833-1916).

Richard S. Wheeler
Institute of East Asiatic Studies, Univ. of California,
Berkeley 4, Calif.

Streett—Would like record of service of any Maryland Streett who served in the Confederacy.

Ann Wiley Day
933 Argonne Drive, Baltimore 18.

Turner—Wish to learn names of parents of Wm. Pinkston Turner, b. 3-31-1753, near New Market, Frederick Co., of whom there are records in later years in N. C. and Ky.

Mrs. W. Harvey Johnson
6208 North Fairhill St., Philadelphia 26.

Benedict Calvert—A study of Benedict Calvert (ca. 1722-1788), of "Mount Airy," Prince George's Co., is in preparation. Information about letters or documents of or concerning Calvert will be appreciated and will be transmitted by the Editor.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mrs. Kenneth A. Bourne, a descendant of Thomas Kemp, has used his copious manuscript records in preparing her study of his house and career. ☆ Mrs. (Dr.) William R. Quynn is presently engaged in the preparation of a life of Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte. ☆ Dr. Hoyt, who teaches at Loyola College, has previously contributed to the *Magazine.* ☆ This issue contains the fourth of six installments of Governor Lee's letters, edited by Mrs. Robert S. Peabody, a descendant.

INDEX TO VOLUME XLIX

Names of authors and titles of papers and original documents printed in the *Magazine* are set in capitals. Titles of books reviewed or cited are in italics.

Abell, Capt. Robert, 258
Aberdeen Proving Grounds, 332
Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column, by George Fort Milton, 246
"Abstracts of Vital Records From Old Cecil County, Maryland, Bibles (Reed and Abrahams Families)," by Faith S. Daskam, 68
Accomack County, Va., 341
Adams, Mr., 288
Abigail, Mrs. John, 158
Charles Francis, 22, 25 ff.
John, 81, 158, 340
John Quincy, 22, 25 ff., 33 ff.
Lt. Col. Peter, 331
Williams, 210
Adams, William, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, 100
Adriana (ship), 278, 281
Africa (ship), 276
Alabama (ship), 29
Albemarle Old Court House, 316
"Albion," Va., 199
Aldridge, A. O., 158
Alexander, Dr. Aashton, 205, 305, 307, 310, 312, 313
All Saints Parish, Calvert County, 90, 106
Allen, Rev. Dr. Ethan, 109
Thomas, 173
Amelia Island, 27, 38, 39
American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union, by Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *reviewed*, 75-76
American Art-Union, 75-76
American Bible Society, 291
American Concern, 28, 29, 143
American Constitutional Custom, . . ., by Burleigh C. Rodick, *reviewed*, 80
An American Dictionary of the English Language, by Noah Webster, 242
American District Telegraph Service of Alarm, 269
The American Farmer (periodical), 21-40, 143-155
American Philosophical Society, 76, 198, 200, 214, 256, 257
American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine (periodical), 22
Americans Interpret Their Civil War, by Thomas J. Pressly, *reviewed*, 244
Ames, Susie M., *County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton Virginia*, reviewed, 341
Anacreon in Heaven (song), 264
Anderson, Franklin, 210
Joseph Horatio, 184
André, John, 82, 131 ff.
Andrei, [Orazio], 69
The Angel of Bethesda, by Cotton Mather, 338
Andrews, Matthew Page, 120
Anglo-American Law on the Frontier, by William B. Hamilton, 81-82
Annapolis, 23, 28, 176-195
Anthony, Daniel, 275
Antoinette (ship), 276
Arensberg, Charles F. C., 271
James M., 271
Arbuthnot, Adm. Marriot, 141
Archbishop John Carroll, Priest and Patriot, by Annabelle M. Melville, *bibl.*, 65
The Architecture of Baltimore, by Richard H. Howland and Eleanor P. Spencer, *bibl.*, 64
"The Architecture of Baltimore," by Wilbur H. Hunter, 66
Archives of Maryland, 173, 174
Ariss, John, 100, 101
Ark (ship), 60, 67
Arkin, Mr., 116
Arlington Cemetery, Washington, D. C., 288
Armistead, Col. George, 168, 264
Armory, Col., 123
Armory, Annapolis, 238
Armstrong, Mrs. Arthur, 87
Arnold, Benedict, 82, 131 ff., 231
Peggy Shippen, Mrs. Benedict, 82
Arrow (schooner), 278
Artists in the Life of Charleston, 1949, by Anna Wells Rutledge, 76
Arthur Pue Gorman, by John R. Lambert, Jr., *bibl.*, 64; *reviewed*, 239-240
Asbury Chapel, Talbot Co., 288
Ashcroft, Thomas, 275

Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Fine Arts, 25
Atkinson, William, 221
Atlantic Souvenir, 303
Atwell, John J., "Diocesan Missions in Garrett County," 68
Auld, Edward, 280
Colonel Hugh, Jr., 278, 280, 288
Sarah, Mrs. Edward, 280
Aury, Luis, 39
Aut (schooner), 277
Avirett, Barbara Dennis, 291, 293, 295
Ayres, James, 187

Badcock, John, 22
Baer, George, 293
Bagwell, Richard, 117
Bailey, Liberty Hyde, 21
Baker, Benjamin, 282
Charles E., 75
Balfour, Lt. Col. Nisbet, 128
Ball, Benjamin, 46
family, 68
Baltimore, County Cork, Ireland, 116 ff., 121
Baltimore, County Longford, Ireland, 116 ff., 121
Baltimore (cruiser), 121
Baltimore (magazine), 156
Baltimore (schooner), 274
Baltimore Afire, by Harold A. Williams, *reviewed*, 156
Baltimore American (newspaper), 218, 302
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 69, 199, 303
"Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Open Transportation Museum July 2, [1953]," 66
Baltimore and Susquehanna Railway, 313
Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860, by Raphael Semmes, *bibl.*, 65; *reviewed*, 73-74
"The Baltimore Book Trade, 1800-1825," by Rollo G. Silver, 68
Baltimore, City of Promise, ed. by Albert J. Silverman, *bibl.*, 65; *reviewed*, 334-335
"Baltimore 1861: We want Rapp," by Alice H. Finckh, 69
Baltimore Gas Company, 217, 221
Baltimore Glacier, 121
Baltimore Glass Works, 163
Baltimore Hotel, Paris, France, 121
Baltimore Ironworks, 68
Baltimore Monument, 163
Baltimore Museum of Art, 207
BALTIMORE: NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD NAME, by Hamill Kenny, 116-122
Baltimore on the Chesapeake, by Hamilton Owens, 334
Baltimore Patriot (newspaper), 24, 34
Baltimore Pike, Frederick, 295
"A Baltimore Pioneer in Proprietary Medicine," by Therese S. Westermeier, 69
Baltimore River, 121
Baltimore Street, Baltimore, 121
Baltimore Turnpike, Board of Managers of, 293
"Baltimore's Aid to Railroads," by Carter Goodrich and Harvey H. Segal, 68
Bancroft Hall, Annapolis, 193
Banister, John, Jr., 158
Bank of the United States, 202
Bank of Virginia, 197
Bannon, Michael, 240
Barbédienne, [Mr.], 84, 85
Bard, Harry, *Maryland: The State and Its Government*, 335
Bard, Harry, *Maryland Today*, reviewed, 335
Barlow, Joel, 243
Barnes, Samuel, 293
Barnesville, 257
Barnet, Perry, 276
Barnett, Mrs. George, 196
Barney, Helen Corse, *Green Rose of Furley*, reviewed, 163
John, 293
Joshua, 276, 281, 293
Barracks Hill, Frederick, 294, 295
Barron, James, 316
Barry, James, 276
Bartgis, M. E., 291, 299
Bros., 66
Barnum, Phineas T., 221
Barnum's Museum, 222
Bartlett, Catherine Thom, "The Victoria," 67
Bath Town (Berkeley Springs), Va., 192
Battle, Gov. John S., 76, 77
Battle Monument, Baltimore, 163
Baughan, Ricardo de, 37, 38
Bay Hundred, Talbot County, 280, 284, 287
Bayard, John T., 271
Thomas F., 125
Bayside, 41, 49, 51
Bayside Meeting House, 273, 288
Bayside Methodist Church, 49
Bealer, L. W., 28
Beall, Josias, 5

Beall, Otho T., Jr., and Shryock, Richard H., Cotton Mather, *First Significant Figure in American Medicine*, reviewed, 337-338
Beanes, Dr. William, 263, 264
Beard, Charles A., 244
Beatty, James, 280, 282
Becker, Ernest J., "The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland: A Chronicle," 69
Beckford, William, 82
"Bedford," Va., 199
Beggar's Ferry, 130
Beirne, Francis F., 166, 282
Rosamond Randall, Mrs. Francis F., 100, 258
BEIRNE, ROSAMOND RANDALL, *The Chase House in Annapolis*, 177-195
Bel Air, 74
Belcher, Gov. Jonathan, of N. J., 346
Bell, Whitfield J., Jr., 257
Bellamie, Mr., 349
"Bellmont," Howard County, 200
Belt, Col. Joseph, 92
"Belvedere," Baltimore, 199, 201, 212, 309
Bemis, Samuel Flagg, 27, 257
Benedict, Md., 130
Bennett, Richard, 180
Benson, General, 248
James, 49
Berkley, Henry J., 106, 120
Bernhard, Pastor Leopold W., 271
Bernier, Louis, 85
Beswick, William, 275
Bevan, Edith R., 171
Biays, James, 275, 282
Joseph, 282
Biddle, Clement, 201
George, 210
Nicholas, 198
Rebecca (Cornell), Mrs. Nicholas, 198
Thomas, 198, 201
Bierck, Harold A., Jr., 38, 88, 176
BIERCK, HAROLD A., JR., *Spoils, Soils, and Skinner*, 21-40, 143-155
Bigelow, [Jacob], 147
Binney, Horace, 200
Birch, William, 218
Birckhead, Mr., 200
Hugh, 306, 307, 308, 311, 313
Bird, John, 276
Blackford, Major Eugene, 203
Rebecca Chapman (Gordon), Mrs. Eugene, 203
Blackiston, Benjamin, 283
Bladen's Folly, Annapolis, 238
Bladensburg, 192, 281
Blair, Alexander McDonald, 176
Mary Taylor (Lloyd), Mrs. Alexander McDonald, 176
Blake, Alphona C., Mrs. James, 86
Blakeslee, Arthur, 53
Blanchy (ship), 276
Bland, Judge, 144
Midshipman, 150, 151
Theodorick A., 23, 24, 28, 30, 35 ff.
"Blenheim," Charles Co., 122
"Blenheim," Prince George's County, 3
Blossom (schooner), 277
Bodine, A. Audrey, *Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater*, reviewed, 332-333
Bodine, A. Audrey, *My Maryland*, 332
Bolívar, Simon, 38, 153, 154
Bolton, Herbert E., 76
"Bolton," Talbot County, 44-53, 201, 211
"Bolton's Addition," Talbot County, 45, 52, 287
Bonaparte, Mme. Elizabeth (Patterson), Mrs. Jerome, 73, 352
Bonpland, [Aimé], 147
Booth, Asia, 74
Edwin, 74, 75
Edwina, 74
Junius Brutus, 209
Mary (Devlin), Mrs. Edwin, 74
Mary (McVicker), Mrs. Edwin, 74
Borden, Morton, 246
Bordley, Elizabeth, 192
J. B., 189
James, Jr., 177
Thomas, 181
Bornacoola Parish, County Longford, 116
Borneman, Richard R., "Franzoni and Andrei: Italian Sculptors in Baltimore, 1808," 69
Bornholdt, Laura, 27, 31, 34, 38
Boucher, Jonathan, 157, 158
Bouldin, John, 278
"Boulton," Bay Hundred, Talbot County, 273
Bourne, M. Florence, Mrs. Kenneth A., 258, 352
BOURNE, M. FLORENCE, *Thomas Kemp, Shipbuilder, and His Home, Wades Point*, 271-289
Bowen, Benjamin, 274
Bowers, Claude, *The Tragic Era*, 161
Boyd, Julian P., 5, 10, 12, 223 ff., 231 ff.
Boyd, Julian P., ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, VIII*, reviewed, 158-159

Boyle, Capt. Thomas, 277, 279, 281
Bozley, James, 276
Bozman, John Leeds, 280
Brack, C. B., 67
Brackbill, Hervey, 121
Brackenridge, Henry M., 29, 37
Braddock, James, 49
Bradley, A., 24
Bradley family, 92
Brady, Matthew, 332
Brand, Katherine E., "'The Inside Friends:' Woodrow Wilson to Robert Bridges," 68
Brandeis, Louis D., 162
Bray, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 333-334
Bray Associates, 333
Brandywine Bridge, 346
Bready, James H., 337
Bready, James H., "The Yale Lockes," 67
Breckinridge, Rev. Robert J., 251
Breezio (schooner), 275
Brengle, Lawrence, 170
Brewington, M. V., 59
Brewington, M. V., *Chesapeake Bay, A Pictorial Maritime History*, bibl., 64; reviewed, 72-73
Brice House, Annapolis, 271
Brick Meeting House, 349, 350
Bridges, Robert, 68
Thomas, 287
Bridland, Mr., 218
"A Brief History of the Headington Family," by C. E. Headington, 175
Brigham, Clarence S., 143
Bristol, Roger P., *Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810*, bibl., 64
British Architect, by Abraham Swan, 191
Brittingham, Mrs. Kathryn Kemp, 289
Broadway, Baltimore, 273
Brook, Mrs., 210
Brooke, Col. Arthur, 165, 263
George M., 145
Brooks, Capt. Benjamin, 123
Gorham, 304, 305, 307, 308, 311, 313
Isaac, 285
Brown, Mrs., 210
Samuel, 28
Brown & Biays, 282
Browne, Arthur S., "The Origin of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the District of Columbia," 108
Bruff, John, 283, 287
Joseph, 287
Brumbaugh, G. A., 110
Brumbaugh, Thomas B., ed., *An Unpublished Letter of William Beckford of Hertford*, reviewed, 81-82
Brutus (schooner), 278
Bryan, Arthur, 190
Bryan, William A., *George Washington in American Literature, 1775-1865*, reviewed, 157-158
William Jennings, 162
Buchholz, H. E., 1, 122, 193
Buckey, Mrs. William G., *Kent County, Maryland, and Vicinity, List of Militia and Oath of Allegaince, June, 1775*, 65
Buckland, William, 100, 101, 180 ff., 185, 187, 188, 195, 258
Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis, by Morris L. Radoff, *reviewed*, 238-239
Bullock, Francis, 46
Martha, Mrs. Francis, 46
Burgess, Robert H., 73
Burgess, Robert H., "Logwood, Caribbean to the Chesapeake," 67
Burgess, Robert H., "Sail Ho!", 67
Burgess, Robert H., "Snug Harbor," 67
Burke, [John], 118
Martin, 255
Burlington, N. J., 346
Burnett, Edmund C., 126
Burr, Aaron, 81
Busey, S. C., 113
Bush River, 120
Bushnel, David I., 76
Butler, Mrs. Blanche L., 53
Joseph, 278
Butterfield, L. H. (ed.), "[Reprint of] Samuel Miller's 'Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century' (1803)," 69
Butterfield, Lyman H., 257
Butterworth, John, 216
Byron, Gilbert, *Chesapeake Cove*, bibl., 64; reviewed, 247

Cabiro, a Poem, by George H. Calvert, 302
Caemp, Elizabeth 45
Cahn, Louis F., *The History of Oheb Shalom, 1853-1953*, bibl., 64; reviewed, 249
Cain, James M., *Galatea*, bibl., 64
Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 4, Part 2, The Red Books, bibl., 64
Calhoun, John C., 200
Callahan, Edward W., 23
Calvert, Benedict, 352
Cecilius, 2nd Lord Baltimore, 44, 45, 107, 108, 113
Charles, 3rd Lord Baltimore, 174

George, 116 ff.
George H., 302, 304, 313
George H., *Cabiro, a Poem*, 302
Gov. Leonard, 173
Calvert, Cliffs of, 332
Calvert County, 22
Calvert Street, Baltimore, 309
Calyo, Nicolino, 207
Camden, S. C., Battle of, 123 ff., 130, 134
Cannfeild, Mr., 5
Carey, H. C., 22
Matthew, 303
Carmichael, William, 86
Carney, Very Rev. J. Canon, 116
The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution, by Charles Woodman [Woodmason], *reviewed*, 159-160
Caroline (sloop), 282
Carr, Peter, 158
Carrera, José M., 28, 31 ff., 40, 143
Carroll, Charles, 193
Charles, of Annapolis, 181
Charles, Barrister, 92, 99, 181
Charles, of Carrollton, 2, 19, 179 ff., 189, 251, 334, 340
Daniel, 324, 325
Archbishop John, 2, 324
Carroll (ship), 253
Carter, Bernard, 213
Josephine, 212
Landon, 203
Carter's Creek, 206
"Carter's Grove," 99
Caruthers, [William A.], 340
Cassaway, John, 48
"Castle Haven," by Joseph Pyle, 67
Castle of Baltimore, 117, 119
Catawba River, 130
Caton, Richard, 199, 209
Caulk, James, 287
Caulk's Field, 248
Cecil County in 1749, 346-350
"Cecil County Wills," by Mr. J. Wirt Lynch, 67
Cesar, Anne, Chevalier de La Luzerne, 8 ff., 139, 140, 236
Chamier, Daniel, 11, 14
Mrs. Daniel, 11, 14
Chance, Rev. John J., 309
Chandlee, Benjamin, 347
Benjamin, Jr., 347
J., 346, 347
Chandlee & Sons, 347
Chapelle, Howard I., 275
Chapman, Christopher, 282
Emily, 202
George W., USN, 205
Dr. Nathaniel, 197, 198, 208, 209
Chapone, Mrs., 207
Charlotte Hall, St. Mary's County, 23
"Charles Mason, Jeremiah Dixon, and the Royal Society," by T. D. Cope and H. W. Robinson, 68
Charles River, 349
"Charles Street in Three Tenses," by Vera Macbeth Jones, 67
Charles Town, 348, 349
Charlotte, N. C., 130
Charlottesville, Va., 316
Charlus de la Croix, Count, 235
Chase, Ann (Baldwin), Mrs. Samuel, 178
Frances C. T., 194, 195
Miss Hester Ann, 194
Jeremiah Townley, 178, 194
Capt. John D., 28
Matilda, 194, 195
Samuel, 4, 178 ff., 194, 195
Thomas, 194
Capt. Thorndike, 277
"Chase Home," 195, 350-351
The Chase House in Annapolis, by Rosamond Randall Beirne, 177-195
Chase Street, Baltimore, 309
Chasseur (ship), 278, 279
Chatham, William Pitt, the elder, Earl of, 90
Chesapeak (ship), 274, 276
Chesapeake (U. S. Frigate), 241
Chesapeake (ship), 282
The Chesapeake Affair of 1807, by John C. Emmerson, Jr., *reviewed*, 241-242
Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 251, 255, 256
Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 239, 240, 297
Chesapeake Bay, 10, 41, 44, 45, 52, 54-64, 70-73, 76, 241
Chesapeake Bay, A Pictorial Maritime History, by M. V. Brewington, *bibl.*, 64; *reviewed*, 72-73
Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater, by A. Audrey Bodine, *reviewed*, 332-333
The Chesapeake Bay Scene, by Jack Lewis, *bibl.*, 65
Chesapeake Beach, Calvert Co., 86
Chesapeake Beach Railway, 86
Chesapeake Cavalier, by Don Tracy, 248
Chesapeake City, 252
Chesapeake Cove, by Gilbert Byron, *bibl.*, 64; *reviewed*, 247
Chesley, Ann, 111
Elizabeth, 111
John, 111

Mary, 111
Rebecca, 111
Thomas, 111
family, 106
Chester, Penna, 253, 346
"Chevy Chase," Montgomery County, 92
Chevy Chase Circle, 89
Chevy Chase Country Club, 92
Chevy Chase Land Co., 103, 113
Chincha Islands, 151
Christ Church, Philadelphia, 197
Christiana, Del., 346-350
Chronicler of the Cavaliers, by Curtis Carroll Davis, 340
Chronicles of Colonial Maryland, by James Walter Thomas, 173-174
Church, Edward, 197
Church Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, 333
Church Home and Hospital, 344
"Cider and Ginger," Montgomery County, 102
City Monument, Baltimore, 168
Claggett, John, 109
Claiborne, William, 248, 271
Clater, Francis, 22
Clark, Charles B., 240
Clark, Charles B., *Politics in Maryland During the Civil War*, bibl., 64
John C., 128
Joseph, 239
Raymond B., Jr., 88, 248
CLARK, RAYMOND B., JR., CLARK, SARA SETH, and, *Webley, or Mary's Delight, Bay Hundred*, Talbot County, 41-53
Sara Seth, Mrs. Raymond B., Sr., 88
CLARK, SARA SETH, and CLARK, RAYMOND B., JR., *Webley, or Mary's Delight, Bay Hundred*, Talbot County, 41-53
Clark, William Bell, "In Defense of Thomas Digges," 68
Clautice, Joseph W., "Wall Street Journal Looks at Maryland," 66
Clay, Henry, 34, 200
Clean Drinking Manor, 90 ff.
Clemens, Samuel L., 340
Clendon, Mrs. Annie Eliza Thomson, 51
"Cleve," Pikesville, 203
Cleveland, Grover, 79, 240
Clinton, Sir Henry, 131 ff., 322, 323, 327, 328
Clinton, Maryland, 175
"Clocker's Fancy," 174
Cloonageehir, Ireland, 116, 118
Clopper, Andrew, 281
Cloud, William Woodward, 67
Coale, Susan, 163
Cobden, Weary, 45
Cobham, Va., 317
Cochrane, Admiral Six Alexander, 263
Cockburn, Admiral Sir George, 23, 24, 248, 263, 280
Cockey, John, 293
Cockshutt, John, 351
Coggeshall, George, 276
Cohen, B. A., 25
Mrs. Benjamin I., 200
I. Bernard, 257
Coit, Solomon, 347-350
Colchester, 347
Coldstream Guards, 243
Cole, Edward, 176
Robert, 176
Coleman, E. M., 241
Colket, Meredith B., Jr., 249
Collections of the New London County Historical Society, 346
College Creek, Va., 76
"College Manor [Md. College for Women, Lutherville]," 67
Collier, William M., 31 ff., 38
Collitz, Herman, 119
Colloson, Robert, 50
Colonel Auld's Point, 280
Columbia County Club, 103
Columbia University, 246
Comet (schooner), 277, 279
Commissary of Naval Prisoners, 6
Compton, Barnes, 240
"Compton," Talbot County, 271
Confederate Agent: A Discovery in History, by James D. Horan, *reviewed*, 245-246
Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, 29
Conley, Henry, 275
Conquerant (ship), 142
"Constellation Seems Doomed," by Ralph J. Robinson, 66
Conversation Club, 199
Conway, John, 274
Cook's Fork, 315
Coolidge, Calvin, 162
Cooper, John, 45
Cooper, John P., Jr., *The History of the 110th Field Artillery*, bibl., 64; reviewed, 336-337
Thomas, 286
Cope, T. D., and Robinson, H. W., "Charles Mason, Jeremiah Dixon, and the Royal Society," 68
Cora (schooner), 275

Corbin, William Lee, 197
Cordery, James, 274
Corner, James, 281
Corning Museum of Glass, 163
Cornwallis, Lord, 128 ff., 231, 315, 316, 319, 323, 325, 327 ff.
Cotton Mather, *First Significant Figure in American Medicine*, by Otho T. Beall, Jr., and Richard H. Shryock, *reviewed*, 337-338
Couch, W. T., 120
County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1632-1649, ed. by Susie M. Ames, *reviewed*, 341
Court House, Baltimore, 84
Court House, Frederick, 292
Couts, John, 91
Covey, James Edward, 53
Sara Sophia Smith (Seth), Mrs. James E., 53
Cowdrey, Mary Bartlett, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union*, reviewed, 75-76
Cowpens, Battle of, 231
Cox, Isaac J., 33
Dr. Richard, 269
Craig, Henry, 274 ff.
John, 283
Crane, W. B., 276 ff., 281
Cranwell, J. P., 276 ff., 281
Craven, Avery O., 21, 22, 151, 152
Cresson, W., 164
Crimson is the Eastern Shore, by Don Tracy, *bibl.*, 65
Crises Extraordinary, by Thomas Paine, 134
Cromwell, Joseph M., 293
"Cromwell," Talbot County, 52, 53
Cronmiller, Philip, 274
Cross, A. & J., Company, 282
Crossbasket Castle, 101
Cruz, Guillermo Feliú, 31 ff., 38
Culver, Francis B., 186
Cumberland Road, 69
"Cumberland Station Gets Beauty Treatment," 67
Cummings, Robert, 285
Cunz, Dieter, "Genealogical Notes on Charles Frederick Wiesenthal," 69
Cunz, Dieter, "German Americans: Immigration and Integration," 69
Cunz, Dieter (ed.), *Twenty-eighth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, bibl., 65
Currygranny, Ireland, 116
Curso elemental de agricultura para el uso de los colegios y escuelas populares, 22
Curtis, Mr., 277
Custine, Count, de, 139
Custis, Nellie, 192
Cutler, Carl, 275, 278

D'Alesandro, Thomas, 261
Dallam, Richard, 14
Damas, Count Charles, 138, 139
Dangerfield, Mr., 206
George, 164
George C., 340
"Dangers of Subversion in an American Education: A French View, 1801," by Dorothy Mackay Quynn, 67
Daniel, Leonard, 44
Peter K., 213
"Darby, Rufus M., "The Genealogy of the Darby Family," 175
Darby, Rufus M., *Genealogy of the Darby Family—Joseph Darby of Anne Arundel Co.*, bibl., 64
D'Arcy and Didier, 28, 31
"Darley Hall," 202
Darling of Misfortune, by [Richard] Lockridge, 74
Darnell, John, 282
Dashiell, Joseph, 182, 185
Daskam, Faith S., "Abstracts of Vital Records From Old Cecil County, Maryland, Bibles (Reed and Abrahams Families)," 68
Dauxion-Lavaysee, Jean François, 33
David (ship), 276
David Porter (sloop), 281
Davidge, Francis H., 306, 308, 309, 313
Davidson, Samuel, 112
Davies, Jacob G., 307, 310, 313, 316,
Davis, Curtis Carroll, 74, 340
Helen Bayley, 247
James, Jr., 285
John W., 162
Mrs. John W., 175
Mrs. M. H., 87
Davis, Richard B., editor, *Jeffersonian America*, . . . , reviewed, 250
Russell, 276
William, 87
Davy, Sir H., 151
Dawson, Impey, 48, 274, 278, 282
Capt. James, 287
Michael, 276
Sophia (Kemp), Mrs. William Haddaway, 273
William Haddaway, 273
Dawson & Kemp (brig), 278
Day, Ann Wiley, 351
Deal, Captain, 278

Decatur, Stephen, 267
DeConde, Alexander, 80
Dedmond, Francis B., "Paul Hamilton Hayne's 'Poe': A Note on a Poem," 68
De Grasse, Francois Joseph Paul, Count de, 9, 10, 329, 330
De Kalb, Baron [Johann], 16, 17, 125, 134
Delaplaine, Edward S., 260
Joseph, 220, 221
Delaware City, 253
Delaware River, 252
Delphian Club, 303
Demaree, Albert L., 21
Denny, Joseph, 49
William, 281
de Noailles, Viscount, 138, 139
Denorritees, James, 347
Deshon, Capt. Christopher, 275, 276, 277
D'Estaing, Count Charles Hector, 230
Déstouches, Commander, 141
"The Development of the 'Valley Line' of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad," by J. Kean Randolph, 69
D'Evereux, John, 145
Dickinson, John, 46
W. R., 150
Dictionary of Medical Science and Literature, by Robley Dunglison, 302
"Did Edgar Allan Poe Lecture at Newark Academy?" by Ernest J. Moyne, 67
Digges, Sir Dudley, 4
Sir Edward, 136
Ignatius, 4, 5, opp. 132, 136, 325
Mary Carroll, Mrs. Ignatius, 325
Thomas, 68
family, 4
Dill, Malcolm H., 87, 176
Dillon, Arthur, 140 ff.
Dillon Regiment, 140, 141
Dilworth, Thomas, 242
Dinges, W. C., 67
"Diocesan Missions in Garrett County," by John J. Atwell, 68
Dixon, Dr. Isaac N., 52
Jeremiah, 68
Dobson, Lt., 248
Dodd, John, 184
Doll, Eugene E., editor, *Index, Volumes 1-75 (1877-1951), The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, reviewed, 344-345
Donalson, Mrs., 208
Dorris, Jonathan Truman, *Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson*, reviewed, 161
Dorsey, Clement, 210
Doughty, Mr., 218
Douglass, Ben., 347
John, 347
Joshua, 347
Lydia, Mrs. Peter, 347
Peter, 347
William, 347
Dove (ship), 60, 67
Dowden, Clementius, 87
John, 87
Mary (Davis), Mrs. Thomas, 87
Michael, 87
Thomas, 87
family, 87
Downing, M. Catherine, "The Heath Family of Wicomico Family," 175
Doyle, Thomas, 273
Draper, Lyman Copeland, 343-344
Drew, [Daniel], 79
Driscoll, Rev. William M. J., S. J., 259, 260
"The Drouth," Anne Arundel County, 184
Du Buysson, Chevalier, 125
Ducatel, Dr. Julius T., 151, 308 ff., 313
Dudley family, 351
Duke of Gloucester Street, Annapolis, 186
Dulany, Grafton, 200
Henrietta Maria, 179
Dumfries, Va., 100
Dunglison, Dr. Robley, 302, 304, 305, 307 ff., 313
Dunlop, A. McCook, 176
Dunlop, A. McCook, Leisenring, L. Morris, and Dunlop, G. Thomas, *Hayes: A. Montgomery County House*, 116-121
Barbara (Laird), Mrs. James, 103
Catherine (Thomas), Mrs. Henry, 102
Elizabeth (Peter), Mrs. James, 102-115
G. Thomas, 103, 176
Dunlop, G. Thomas, Dunlop, A. McCook, and Leisenring, L. Morris, *Hayes: A Montgomery County House*, 89-115
George T., 103, 104
Henry, 102, 103
James, 91, 101-115
James, Sr., 101, 103
Robert Peter, 103
Thomas, 202
Dunmore, Lord, 185

Durkee, Pearl, 281
Duval, Gabriel, 30
Duvall's Delight, 258
Dvoichenko-Markov, Eufrosina, "A Russian Traveler to Eighteenth Century America," 66
The Dwellings of Colonial America, by T. T. Waterman, 100

Eagle (schooner), 282
"Eagle's Nest," 196
Eagon, Richard, 275
Early American Steamers, by Eric Heyl, *reviewed*, 78-79
Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland, by Henry Chandlee Forman, 171-174
Eastern Bay, 271, 272
Eastman Kodak Company, 269
Eaton, Clement, *A History of the Old South*, 160
Eaton, Clement, *A History of the Southern Confederacy*, reviewed, 160
Eberlein, H. D., 257
Ebo (ship), 276
Eccleston, Archbishop Samuel, 200, 306, 307, 313
Eclipse (schooner), 274
École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 84. 85
Edelen, Mrs. Edward J., 350
Eden, Gov. Robert, 184, 185, 189, 238, 258
Edmundson, Dr. Thomas, 201
Egli, Dr. J. J., 117
Eidue (brig), 275
"Eighteenth Century Maryland Through the Eyes of German Travellers," by Paul G. Gleis, 69
Ekirch, Arthur A., Jr., 81, 245
El Patriota (ship), 28
Elements of Hygiene, by Robley Dunglison, 302
Elk River, 120
Elkridge, 201
Ellicott's Mills, 199
Elliot, Capt. Jesse D., 293, 297
Ellis, Rev. John Tracy, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921*, 88
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 242
Emigrants from the Palatinate to the American Colonies in the 18th Century, by Friedrich Krebs and Milton Rubicam, *reviewed*, 345
Emmerson, John C., Jr., *The Chesapeake Affair of 1807*, reviewed, 241-242
Emperor of Russia (ship), 278
"The Ending of Controversie," 172
Engelbrecht, Jacob, 291, 294, 298, 299
Ensey, Mrs. Louisa S., 53
Ensign on a Hill, by Judith Robinson, *reviewed*, 344
Enterprise (brig), 275
Era of the Oath, by Harold M. Hyman, *reviewed*, 244-245
Erie (U. S. Ship), 279, 282, 283
Essay on Ass and Mule, by John S. Skinner, 22
Essay on Sheep, by J. S. Skinner, 22
Europa (ship), 142
Evans, Col. Henry C., 336
Hugh W., 202, 211, 212, 306, 312, 313
Everett, Susan, 45
Exeter Street, Baltimore, 74
"Exhibition on the History of Medicine in Maryland: 1634-1953," 66
Experiment (brig), 276
Express (ship), 279
Extreme (schooner), 278

Fair Grounds, Frederick, 295
Fairbank, Daniel, 49
James, 286
Fairfax, Fernando, 144
Fairmount Building, 207
Fajardo, Palacio, 145
Falmouth, Va., 196, 197, 199
Fanny (schooner), 275
Faris, William, 180, 184, 191, 193
Farmers' Bank of Virginia, 197
Farmer's National Bank, 251
Farquhar, Roger B., 89, 92
William P., 293
Faulac, Anthony, 146
Faust, Albert B., "German-American Historical Societies: Their Achievements and Limitations," 69
Federa, Mrs. E. B., 257
Fells Point, Baltimore, 271
Female (brig), 277
Ferguson, Major [Patrick], 129
Ferns and Fern-Allies of Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia, by Clyde F. Reed, *bibl.*, 65
Fernandina, Amelia Island, 39
Fersen, Count, 138
Fifth Regiment, 168
Fifth Street, Frederick,, 292, 295, 296
Fifty-first Regiment, 165
Finckh, Alice H., "Baltimore 1861: We Want Rapp," 69
Finley, Samuel, 349
First Annual Pilgrimage of Old Homes

and Landmarks in Berlin, Worcester Co., bibl., 65
First Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, 114, 165
First Thirty-Five Annual Reports [of the] Baltimore City Health Department, 1815-1849, [(comp.) by Huntington Williams], *bibl.*, 65
Fischer, Daniel, 274
Susanna, Mrs. Daniel, 274
Fishbourne, Hannah, Mrs. William, 46
Ralph, 44 ff.
William, 46
Fisher, John, 276
Fisk, [James], 79
Fitzhugh, Dr., 208
Peregrine, 129, 317
Perry, 327
William, 327
William, of Chatham, 2
William, of Eagle's Nest, 129
Col, William, 129, 130, 185, 236
Mrs. William, 327
Fitzpatrick, John C., 6, 11, 13, 15, 18, 125, 126, 190, 228, 235, 314, 317, 326, 328
" The Five Nations of New York and Pennsylvania," by Paul A. W. Wallace, 68
Flannigan, William, 282
Flasks, 163
Fletcher, Inglis, 248
J. G., 340
Flexner, James Thomas, 75, 131
Flexner, James Thomas, *The Traitor and the Spy*, reviewed, 82
Flight (ship), 278
Flying Camp, 87
Footner, Hulbert, 51, 281
Ford, Elizabeth, Mrs. Thomas, 45
Thomas, 45
Forenoon, Benjamin, 276
Forest Park, Baltimore, 334
Forman, H. C., 99
Forman, Henry Chandlee, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*, 171-174
Forman, Henry Chandlee, *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance*, 171-174
FORMAN, HENRY CHANDLEE, *The "Kent Fort Manor" and "St. Peter's Key" Myth*, 171-174
Forrest, Uriah, 2, 124
Fort Cumberland, 341
Fort Delaware, 253
Fort George G. Meade, 336
Fort McClellan, Ala., 336
Fort McHenry, 23, 57, 65, 168, 169, 261, 262, 269, 279
Forsyth, Major Robert, 223
Foster, A. W., 146
Sir Augustus John, 250
James W., 269, 270
Fountain Inn, 165, 171
Fountain Inn, Frederick, 299
Fountain Street, Fells Point, 274, 285
Fourth of July (brig), 28, 29
Fourth Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, 212
Fowler, Laurence Hall, 268
Fox, Page, 52
" Francis Scott Keys Family in Oakland," by Julia McH. Howard, 68
Franco, José Luciano, 28
Franklin (steamboat), 254
Franklin, Benjamin, 157-158, 256, 257
" Franklin," Pseud., 29
Franks, David Solebury, 134
" Franzoni and Andrei: Italian Sculptors in Baltimore, 1808," by Richard R. Borneman, 69
Frazee, Joshua, 175
Mary (Jackson), Mrs. William Reed, 175
Nancy (Reed), Mrs. Joshua, 175
William Reed, 175
Frazier, Mary Lambdin Dawson (Kersey), Mrs. Thomas L., 48, 50
Capt. Thomas, 284
Thomas L., 50
Frederick, 163, 290-300
Frederick Artillery Company, 294
Frederick County, 92, 170
Frederick County Historical Society, 290
Fredericksburg " Academy," 196
Fredericksburg, Va., 100, 199, 201, 203, 206, 326
Fredericktown, 170, 171, 224
Fredericktown, Boonsborough, and Cumberland Turnpike Road, 202
Fredericktown Herald (newspaper), 291
Free School, Annapolis, 239
Freedom's Way, by Theodora McCormick, *bibl.*, 65
Freeman, Douglas Southall, *George Washington. (Vol. VI: Patriot and President)*, reviewed, 338-339
Fremantle, Lt. Col. Arthur James, 243-244
The Freemantle Diary, edited by Walter Lord, *reviewed*, 243-244
French, John C., " Mr. Johns Hopkins and Dr. Patrick Macaulay's ' Medical Improvement,' " 67
Frenchtown, Maryland, 169

Frick, Frank, 85
"Friends Discovery," Baltimore, 283
Fritchie, Barbara, 163
"Frostburg, 1882: German Strikers vs. German Strikebreakers," by Richard Lowitt, 60, 69
Fulford and Clopper, 281, 282
Fuller, Robert, 45, 46
Mrs. Robert, 45
Furlong, Capt. William, 277
Furst, J. H., Co., 86

"Gaither's Intent," Anne Arundel Co., 184
Galatea, by James M. Cain, *bibl.*, 64
Galchel, Justice, 350
Galdames, Luis, 33
Gallatin, Albert, 31
Gardner, George, 285
Garling, Jacob, 248
Garling, Paul E., *The Garling Family from 1751 to 1953*, reviewed, 248-249
The Garling Family from 1751 to 1953, by Paul E. Garling, *reviewed*, 248-249
Garnds, William, 279
Garnkirk, Baron of, 101, 102
Garrett, Robert, 67
Garrett County, 68
Garrison, William Lloyd, 78
Gartrell, Joseph, Sr., 175
Gates, Horatio, 123, 124, 126, 128 ff., 134, 135
Theophilus R., 48, 49
"Gay Mont," Va., 199
Gay Street, Frederick, 291
"Genealogical Notes on Charles Frederick Wiesenthal," by Dieter Cunz, 69
"Genealogy of the Darby Family," by Rufus M. Darby, 175
Genealogy of the Darby Family-Joseph Darby of Anne Arundel Co., by Rufus M. Darby, *bibl.*, 64
"The Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks," by Keach Johnson, 68
George Town, 329 ff.
George Washington. (Vol. VI: Patriot and President), by Douglas Southall Freeman, reviewed, 338-339
George Washington in American Literature, 1775-1865, by William A. Bryan, *reviewed*, 157-158
George Washington's America, by John Tebbel, *reviewed*, 240-241
Georgetown, 101 ff.
Garard, Conrad Alexander, 8, 10
Susannah (Gerard), Mrs. Thomas, 258
Thomas, 176, 258
Germain, Lord George, 322
"German-American Historical Societies: Their Achievements and Limitations," by Dieter Cunz, 69
Germantown, Battle of, 138, 234
Gettysburg, Penna., 243
Ghiselin, Mrs., 194
Gibbes, Robert Morgan, 309, 310, 313
Gibbings, Robert, 117
Gibbons, James Cardinal, 88
Gibson, Dr. George S., 306, 307, 310, 313
John, 186
Gibson Island, 57-58
Giffen, Lillian, 92
Giles, Edward, 133, 135
Gill, Mrs., 212
Gilman, Daniel Coit, 85, 164
Gilmor, Robert, 133, 200, 219, 305, 307, 310, 311 ff.
Robert, Jr., 208
Mrs. Robert, 209
Gen, Mordecai, 14, 128, 134, 227, 327
"The Glamorous Days of the Old Orioles," by Ralph J. Robinson, 66
"A Glance Backwards at MSTA History, 68
Gleis, Paul G., "Eighteenth Century Maryland Through the Eyes of German Travellers," 69
Glenn, District Attorney, 30
Goldsborough, William, 293
Goldsmith, William, 180
Golfull, William, 45
Goodbridge, Va., 321
Gooding, J., 28
Goodrich, Carter, and Segal, Harvey H., "Baltimore's Aid to Railroads," 68
Goolrick, John, 196
Gordon, Alexander, 204, 205, 207, 208, 210
Basil B., 211
Brazil, 196, 207
Chapman, 198
Douglas, 258
GORDON, DOUGLAS, *A Virginian and His Baltimore Diary*, 196-213
Emily, 202
Emily (Chapman), Mrs. John M., 197
John M., 306, 307, 310, 313
John Montgomery, 196-213
Rebecca, 202, 203
Samuel, 196, 197

Susan, 202, 204 ff.
Susannah Fitzhugh (Knox), Mrs., Samuel, 196
Wellington, 206, 208
Gorman, Arthur Pue, 64, 239-240
Gott, Stephen, 276
Gould, Jay, 79
Gouverneur, Mary Digges Lee, 3
Government House, Annapolis, 2
Governor's Mansion, Annapolis, 238
Grace and St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, 203
Graham, John, 35
Granger, Launcelot, 66
Grant, William, 87
Gray, Canon, 116, 117
Edward, 199
Wood, 244
Gray, Wood, *The Hidden Civil War*, 246
Great Falls of the Potomac, 251, 255, 256
Grecian (ship), 278, 279
Greeley, Horace, 22, 25
Green Rose of Furley, by Helen Corse Barney, *reviewed*, 163
" Greenbank," Chester, Penna., 253
Greene, Evarts B., and Morris, Richard B., *A Guide To The Principal Sources For Early American History (1600-1800) In The City Of New York*, reviewed, 246-247
Francis Thornton, 25
Mrs. Frederick Stuart, 25
Nathaniel, 129, 137, 138, 141, 232, 234, 315, 318, 319, 321, 325 ff.
" Greenmount," 201, 209
Greenmount Cemetery, 203
Greenway, E. M., 310, 311, 313
Greet, William Cabell, 120
Griffin, Charles C., 27 ff., 34, 39
Greenberry, 282
Grigsby, H. B., *Letters by a South-Carolinian*, 340
Guénon, Francis, 22
Guestier, P. A., 277, 278
A Guide To The Principal Sources For Early American History (1600-1800) In The City of New York, by Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris, *reviewed*, 246
Gun House, Annapolis, 238
Gunby, Col. John, 123
Gunpowder Meeting of Friends, 87
Gunpowder River, 121

Haber, Francis C., 85, 159, 338
Haddaway, Ann Dawson (Kersey), Mr. William, 48, 50
Daniel, 287
Col. Daniel Lambdin, 51
Mrs. Daniel Lambdin, 51
James, 50
William, 48, 50
William Webb, 47, 48
Haddaway's Ferry, 285
Haddaways Wharf, 280
Hagerstown, 169 ff., 243
Hall, John Philip, 160
Josiah, 274
Dr. Richard W., 306 ff., 311, 313
Hall & White, 282
Hambleton, Capt. Robert, 278
S., 153
Samuel, Jr., 53
William, 284, 287
Hamill, W. S., 156
Hamilton, Alexander, 11
Dr. Alexander, 302
S. M., 31
Hamilton, William B., *Thomas Rodney: Revolutionary & Builder of the West*, reviewed, 81-82
Hamilton Bank, 202
Hamilton Hall House, Edinburgh, Scotland, 100
Hammond, Denton, 178
John, 186
Mathias, 181, 182
Hammond-Harwood House, Annapolis, 66, 92, 100, 188
Hampshire Corp., 66
Hancock, John, 81
Hand, George E., 211
Hann, H. C., *Well Do I Remember: Memories of Old Baltimore*, bibl., 65
Hanover Street, Annapolis, 179
Hanson, " Judge," 200
George A., 107
John, 19, 20, 126 ff., 133, 134
Harding, John L., 293
Rachel (Lamar), Mrs. William, 257
William, 257
" Harewood," 99
" Harper's Ferry as a National Monument," by Mary Vernon Mish, 67
Harris, Benjamin G., 208
John, 173
Harrison, Joseph, 49
Thomas, 49
William Henry, 24, 200
Harriss, R. P., 333
Harrow, William, 276
Hartshorne, Jonathan, 347 ff.

Lucy, 347, 349
Lucy (Hempstead), Mrs. John, 346, 350
Thomas, 347, 349
Harwood, Mrs., 194
Henry Hall, 194
James, 306, 307, 310, 313
Hatton, William, 44, 280
"Hatton," Talbot County, 279, 280, 284, 287
Havre de Grace, 348
Hawkes, Jacquetta, *History in Earth and Stone*, 55
Hawk (schooner), 275
Hayden, Ethel Roby, 3, 122
H. H., 304, 306, 307, 310, 313
Hayes, Chloe (Smith), 249
John I., 86
Rutherford B., 249
Sarah (Ryal), Mrs. William, 257, 258
William, 257
"Hayes," Bromley, Kent, England, 90
"Hayes," Montgomery County, 176
HAYES, A MONTGOMERY COUNTY HOUSE, by G. Thomas Dunlop, A. McCook Dunlop, and L. Morris Leisenring, 89-115
Hayne, Paul Hamilton, 68
Head of Elk, 227 ff., 232, 233, 328 ff.
Headington, C. E., "A Brief History of the Headington Family," 175
Heath, Maj. Richard K., 165
"The Heath Family of Wicomico Family," by Miss M. Catherine Downing, 175
"Hebron," Talbot County, 53
Heffernan, Rear Adm. John B., 271
Heilbron, Bertha L., 22
Hellene, Signor, 219
Hemphill, John, II, 341
Hempstead, Joshua, 346-350
Henry Clay (ship), 283
Henry, Ernest F., 91
John, Jr., 122-124, 126, 135, 136
Patrick, 158
Herman, Lewis Helmar, 120
Hermann, Augustine, 120
Herndon, John G., "Robert Middleton of Maryland, and Some of His Descendents," 68
Hesselius, John, betw. 131-132
Hesseltine, William B., *Pioneer's Mission: The Story of Lyman Copeland Draper*, reviewed, 343-344
Heyl, Eric, *Early American Steamers*, reviewed, 78-79
Hicks, Henry, 52
Russell, 268
Thomas & Sons, 268
The Hidden Civil War, by Wood Gray, 246
High Street, Georgetown, D. C., 102
Hildrup, Robert Leroy, 344
Hill, A. P., 243
Admiral Harry W., 262, 265, 270
Hill, Ralph N., *Sidewheeler Saga*, . . . , reviewed, 78-79
Hillegas, Michael, 18
Hines, Jesse K., 240
Capt. Thomas H., 245
Hinrichs, L. Harold, *St. Luke's Parish, Queen Anne's County, Maryland, Founded 1728*, bibl., 65
His Lordship's Patronage, Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland, by Donnell M. Owings, *bibl.*, 65
The Historical Magazine, 333
"Historical Society's Maritime Museum Committee Endorses Return of U. S. S. Constellation," 66
History as a Literary Art, by Samuel E. Morison, 82
History in Earth and Stone, by Jacquetta Hawkes, 55
A History of American History, by Michael Kraus, 81
A History of The York Academy, reviewed, 342-343
History of Chile, by Abbé Molina, 32
The History of Oheb Shalom, 1853-1953, by Louis F. Cahn, *bibl.*, 64; *reviewed*, 249
The History of the 110th Field Artillery, by John P. Cooper, Jr., *bibl.*, 64; *reviewed*, 336-337
A History of the Old South, by Clement Eaton, 160
A History of the South, by Francis B. Simkins, *reviewed*, 77
A History of the Southern Confederacy, by Clement Eaton, *reviewed*, 160
Hoffman, David, 310, 311
Jeremiah, 306 ff., 311, 313
John, 209, 306, 307, 309, 313
Philip Rogers, 313
Dr. Rogers, 308 ff.
Samuel, 306
Samuel Owings, 306, 307, 310, 312, 313
Hollbrook, Henry, 274
Holliday Street Theater, 209
Hollingsworth, Levi, 276
Hollins, William, 279
Hollins & McBlair, 277, 278
Hollyday, Guy T. O., 67

H. Robins, betw. 44-45
Holt, Joseph, 161
" Homewood," Baltimore, 99, 201
Hood, Gen. John B., 243
Hook, James William, *Lieut Samuel Smith His Children and One Line of Descendents and Related Families*, reviewed, 249
Hooke, Thomas, 249
Hooker, Richard J., 159
Hooper, Ida T., Sherwood, Elizabeth J., and, compilers, *Index, Volumes 1-6, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, reviewed, 247
Hooper, Isaac, 275
Hopkins, James M., 287
John, 67
Johns, 284
Joseph, 50
Nicholas, 281
Hopkins Place, Baltimore, 156
Hopkinson, Francis, 158
Hopper, William E. & Sons, 66
Horan, James D., *Confederate Agent*, reviewed, 245-246
Hornet (ship), 277
Horney, Benjamin, 285
Jane (Robson) Kersey, Mrs. Sollomon, 46
Solloman, 46
The Horse, by William Youatt, 22
Horse Neck, Conn., 349
Horse-Shoe Robinson, by John P. Kennedy, 303
Horsey, Outerbridge, 235
Mrs. Outerbridge, betw. 131-132
Horstman, Elizabeth (Riddle), Mrs. John, 273
John, 273
Hotel de Ville, Paris, 84
Houdon, [Jean Antoine], 158
" Houses and Gardens of the Victorian Era [in Md]," by Charlotte Verplanck, 68
Houston, Judge, 29
Howard, Benjamin Chew, 306, 307, 309, 311, 313
Charles, 209, 304, 305, 307, 308, 311, 313
John Eager, 209, 212, 334
Howard, Julia McH., " Francis Scott Key's Family in Oakland," 68
McHenry, 179
Howard Park, Baltimore, 168, 212
Howard's Ranges, 258
Howell, Humphrey, 173
Howland, Mrs., 212
Richard H., 92
Howland, Richard H., and Spencer, Eleanor P., *The Architecture of Baltimore*, bibl., 64
Hoyt, William D., Jr., 283, 335, 352
Hoyt, William D., Jr., *The Monday Club*, 301-313
Hubbard, C. V., 257
Hubbell, Jay B., *The South in American Literature: 1607-1900*, reviewed, 339-340
Hudson, Mr., 277
" Hugh Teares of Maryland," 68
Hughes, Mrs. Thomas, 177
Hull, Commodore [Isaac], 147
Human Physiology, by Robley Dunglison, 302
Humboldt, [Alexander von], 147, 151
Hume, Paul, " Rosa Ponselle of Villa Pace," 68
Humphreys, David, 136
Hunt, Gilbert, 299
Hunter, Mr., 219
David, 185
Wilbur H., Jr., 72, 258
Hunter, Wilbur H., Jr., " The Architecture of Baltimore," 66
Hunter, Wilbur H., Jr., *The Tribulations of a Museum Director in the 1820's*, 214-222
Huntington, Samuel, 18, 19, 232
" Huntly," 202
Hurst, John E., & Co., 156
Hyde, William, 124
Hyman, Harold M., 82
Hyman, Harold M., *Era of the Oath*, reviewed, 244-245

Ida (brig), 275
" In Defense of Thomas Digges," by William Bell Clark, 68
Index, Volumes 1-6, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, compiled by Elizabeth J. Sherwood and Ida T. Hooper, *reviewed*, 247
Index, Volumes 1-75 (1877-1951), The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, ed. by Eugene E. Doll, *reviewed*, 344-345
Indian River, Delaware, 121
Inglis, Rev. Dr. James, 165
Innocents Abroad, by Mark Twain, 79
" 'The Inside Friends:' Woodrow Wilson to Robert Bridges," by Katherine E. Brand, 68
Institute of Early American History and Culture, 257
Iquiqui, Peru, 151
Irvine, Baptiste, 31, 34, 38

Irving, Washington, 32

"Jack Willis—Master Shipbuilder," 66
Jackson, Andrew, 24, 26
Elihu E., 240
Elizabeth (Poling), Mrs. Jacob, 175
Jacob, 175
James (slave), 273
James River, 76, 77, 231, 315, 316, 349
Jamestown, Va., 76, 317
Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance, by Henry Chandlee Forman, 171-174
Java (frigate), 280
Jefferson, Thomas, 5-6, 10, 12, 21, 158, 223 ff., 230 ff., 260
Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, 302, 308
Jeffersonian America, . . . , edited by Richard B. Davis, *reviewed*, 250
Jenifer, Dan. of St. Thomas, 5
Jenkins, Catherine (Key), Mrs. George C., 260, 262
Thomas C., 260
Mrs. Thomas C., 259-270
Jim (slave), 284, 286
Johns, Thomas, 112
Johns Hopkins University, 65, 68, 85, 269
Johnson, Commodore, 325
Andrew, 161
Gerald W., 185, 262
Johnson, Gerald W., and Wall, Charles C., *Mount Vernon: the Story of a Shrine*, reviewed, 83
Joshua, 178, 179, 182
Johnson, Keach, "The Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks," 68
Lloyd, 274
Reverdy, 23
Robert M., 213
Samuel, 242
Thomas, Jr., 4, 8, 11, 12
Mrs. W. Harvey, 352
Johnston, George, 350
John G., 28
Johnstone, Mr., 350
Jones, Charles, 91
Elizabeth (Couts), Mrs. Charles, 91
Richard, 281, 282
Commodore [Thomas ap Catsby], 148
Jones, Vera Macbeth, "Charles Street in Three Tenses," 67
Jones Bridge Road, 91
Jones' Falls, 74, 168
Jones Mill Road, 91, 93
Jordan, Servando, 35
Jordan, Weymouth T., 151
Joseph (ship), 274
Joseph and Mary (ship), 274
Journal d'une Femme de Cinquante Ans, 141
Joyce, Martha (Ryal), Mrs. Nathan, 257, 258
Nathan, 257
P. W., 117, 119, 120
Jug Bridge, Frederick, 292 ff.
The Justices' Practice under the Laws of Maryland, by John H. B. Latrobe, 303

K & R (schooner), 287
Kalkman, Charles, 277, 278
Kane, Anne Marie, Masterson, James R., and, compilers, *Writings on American History, 1949*, reviewed, 163
Kane, Harnett T., *The Lady of Arlington*, reviewed, 83
Karjavin, Theodore, 66
Karrick, Joseph, 28
Kean, J. Randolph, "The Development of the 'Valley Line' of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad," 69
Keating, Thomas J., 240
Keithley, Thomas, 275
Kelly, Millicent, 270
Kemp, D. Earl, 289
Eliza (Fisher) Doyle, Mrs. Thomas, 273
Elizabeth (Webb), Mrs. Robert, 273
Miss Helen Dawson, 289
Henry, 293
John, 273, 287, 288
John, Sr., 285
John W., 271, 274, 287, 288
Joseph F., 274
Joseph Oliver, 288
Louisa, 274
Magdalen (Stevens), Mrs. John, 273
Margaret, 274
Rachel (Denny), Mrs. Thomas, 273
Robert, 273
Sally Ann, 274
Sarah, Mrs. John, 288
Sophia (Horstman), Mrs. Thomas, 273
Thomas, 271-289, 352
Thomas H., 273, 288
William, 288
William Pinkney, 274
Kemp Farm, Talbot County, 52
Kemp (ship), 278

"Kenmore," Fredericksburg, Va., 92, 100, 101, 196, 199
Kenmuir, 202, 203
Kennedy, John Pendleton, 199, 209, 301-313, 334
Pendleton, 304
Kenny, Daniel, 286
Hamill, 176
KENNY, HAMILL, *Baltimore: New Light on an Old Name*, 116-121
Kent County, Del., 81
Kent County, Maryland, and Vicinity, List og Militia and Oaths of Allegiance, June, 1775, by Mrs. Wm. G. Buckey, *bibl.*, 65
Kent Court House, 316
THE "KENT FORT MANOR" AND ST. PETER'S KEY" MYTHS, by Henry Chandlee Forman, 171-174
Kent Island, 58, 171-174, 271
Kent Point, 272
Kersey, Elizabeth (Lambdin), Mrs. Francis, 48
Francis, 46 ff., 287
John, 46 ff.
Margaret, Mrs. Francis, 48
Mary, 46, 48
Mary (Dickinson), 46
Mary Lambdin (Dawson), Mrs. John, 48, 50
Sarah (Lambdin), Mrs. Francis, 48
William, 46
family, 88
"Kersey's Ramble," Talbot County, 50
Key, Anna Ruth (Potts), Mrs. Edmund, 176
Charles Henry, 176
Judge Edmund, 176
Edward Lloyd, 176
Francis Scott, 23, 68, 103, 176, 192, 260 ff.
Mary (Tayloe), Mrs. Francis Scott, 192
family, 260
Key Room, Maryland Historical Society, 259-270
Keyes, Frances Parkinson, 248
Keys Tavern, 349
Killburn, Russell, 282
Kimmel, [Stanley P.], *The Mad Booths of Maryland*, 74
King, Donald Key, 176
King George Street, Annapolis, 179, 194
Rufus, 164, 242
King William School, 238
King's Ferry, N. Y., 132
King's Mountain, 130, 138, 234, 235
Kings Creek, Va., 76
Kneeland's Ferry, 232
Knox, Mrs., 206
Anne Campbell, 211
Gen. Henry, 11
Jessie Somerville, 206
William A., 206
Korean War, 336
Koster, Laurens, 158
Kraus, Michael, *A History of American History*, 81
Kraus, Michael, *The Writing of American History*, reviewed, 81
Krebs, Friedrich, and Rubicam, Milton, *Emigrants from the Palatinate to the American Colonies in the 18th Century*, reviewed, 345
Kremer, J. Bruce, 19
Krug, G. & Son, 66
Kuhn, Major Henry, 293

Labaree, Prof. Leonard, 256, 257
L'Abeille Américaine (newspaper), 33
The Lady of Arlington, by Harnett T. Kane, *reviewed*, 83
Lafayette, Marquis de, 2, 25, 138, 141, 191, 226 ff., 233, 290-300, 315 ff., 320, 323, 326
George Washington, 293
Lafayette Institution of Baltimore, 25
LAFAYETTE'S VISIT IN FREDERICK, 1824, by Dorothy Mackay Quynn, 290-300
LaFollette, Belle Case, and LaFollette, Fola, *Robert M. LaFollette*, reviewed, 161-162
LaFollette, Fola, LaFollette, Belle Case, and, *Robert M. LaFollette*, reviewed, 161-162
Robert M., 161, 162
Laird, Helen (Dunlop), Mrs. William, 103
William, 103
William, Jr., 103
Lake Panasoffkee, Florida, 67
Lambdin, Daniel, 47, 48, 50
Robert, 49, 50, 288
Robert, Jr., 50
Lambert, John R., Jr., *Arthur Pue Gorman*, bibl., 64; reviewed, 239-240
Lancaster, Joseph, 220
Lancaster Street, Fells Point, Baltimore, 273
Langborn, Maj. William, 340
"Langdon," Talbot County, 53
"Lath" (horse), 186
Latrobe, Benjamin H., 68
John H. B., 211, 302, 303, 306, 307, 310, 313

" Latrobe Comes to Philadelphia 1798," 68
" Lautaro," pseud., 34
Laval, Marquis de, 141, 142
Lavender, Levin, 276
" Law and Order," by Thelka F. Weeks, 68
Lawrence, Captain James, 282
" Lawrence the Brave " (poem), 282
Lee, Charles Carroll, 1, 3
Christiana (Sim), Mrs. Richard, 3
Daniel, 151
Edmund J., 3
Col. Henry, Jr., 131-133, 137
John, 1, 2, 133
Hon. John, 298
Mary (Custis), Mrs. Robert E., 83
Mary (Digges), Mrs. Thomas Sim, 3-4, 19, 128, betw. 131-132, 134, 136, 137
Philip, 3
Richard, of Westmoreland County, Va., 3
Richard, Jr., 2, 3
Robert E., 131, 203, 243, 339
Sarah, 3
Thomas Sim, 1-20, 88, 122-142, 191, 223-237, 258, 314-331, 352
Leeds, John, 47, 272, 280
Leedstown, Va., 76
Leisenring, L. Morris, 176
LEISENRING, L. MORRIS, DUNLOP, G. THOMAS, DUNLOP, A. MCCOOK, and *Hayes: A Montgomery County House*, 116-121
Leigh family, 174
Leigh House, 174
LeMaster, Mrs. Vernon L., 87
Leo (brig), 276
Leopard (British ship), 241
Leopard (schooner), 277, 278
Letters by a South-Carolinian, by H. B. Grigsby, 340
Letters of Noah Webster, edited by Harry R. Warfel, *reviewed*, 242-243
Levasseur, Auguste, 293, 297, 298
Levin J. Marvel (ship), 332
Lewis, Clifford M., S. J., 54
Lewis, Clifford M., and Loomie, Albert J., *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572*, reviewed, 76-77
Lewis, Jack, *The Chesapeake Bay Story*, bibl., 65
Samuel, 118
William, 44
Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company, 269
Libby, Henry S., 86
Liberty Street, Baltimore, 156
Liddell, Andrew, 86
Esther, Mrs. James, 86
Frank B., 86
James, 86
John, 86
Moses, 86
Rachel, Mrs. John, 86
William, 86
family, 86
Lieut. Samuel Smith His Children and One Line of Descendents and Related Families, by James William Hook, *reviewed*, 249
Life (Baltimore) and *Time* (Baltimore) (periodicals), 67
The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921, by John Tracy Ellis, 88
" The Liffey," Baltimore, 283
Light Street, Baltimore, 252
Lincoln, Abraham, 161
Lingan, Gen. James, 112
Livingstone, [William], 79
Lloyd, Anne, betw. 188-189, 191
Anne (Rousby), Mrs. Edward, III, 179
Edward, 4, 33, 45, 287
Col. Edward, III, 179, 180, 189
Edward, IV, 178, 180, 186, 189, 192
Edward, V., 192, 193
Elizabeth (Tayloe), Mrs. Edward, IV, 180, 182, betw. 188-189, 191, 193
Philemon, 179
Richard Bennett, 190
Sally Scott (Murray), Mrs. Edward, V, 192
Lloyd's Coffee House, 279
Lockey, Joseph B., 27, 29
Lockridge, [Richard], *Darling of Misfortune*, 74
Lockwood, Justice James, 349
" Logwood, Caribbean to the Chesapeake," by Robert H. Burgess, 67
Lona (ship), 276
London, Bishop of, 333
Long, Robert Cary, Sr., 221
Long Dock, Baltimore, 332
Longstreet, Gen James, 243
Lonn, Ella, 78
Loomie, Albert J., S. J., 54
Loomie, Albert J., Lewis, Clifford M., and, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572*, reviewed, 76-77
Lord, Walter, editor, *The Fremantle Diary*, reviewed, 243-244
Lorman, William, 199, 200, 202, 221

Lossing, B. J., 280
Love Lane, Frederick, 296
"Lovely Green," Baltimore, 281, 282
Lowe, John H., 52
John Hanson, 53
Mary (Seth), Mrs. John Hanson, 53
Wrightson, 287
family, 53
Lowitt, Richard, "Frostburg 1882: German Strikers vs. German Strikebreakers," 69
Suzanne C., 77
Lowndes, Miss Elizabeth Lloyd, betw. 188-189
Mrs. Richard Tasker, 192
Lowrey, Benjamin, 285
Salvadore, 283
Lowth, Robert, 242
Lucas, Widow, 347
George A., 84, 85
Ivory, 350
Lukes, Isaiah, 215
Lurman, Gustav W., 306, 307, 310, 312, 313
Lyddecker, J. W., 333
Lynch, Mrs. J. Wirt, "Cecil County Wills," 67
Lynchburg, Va., 203
Lynx (schooner), 275, 276
Lyon, Dr. William, 91, 92, 109, 110
family, 106

McBlair, Michael, 275
McCampbell, Coleman, 351
McConnell, S. D., 110
McCormick, Theodora, *Freedom's Way*, bibl., 65
McCoy, Andrew, 283
Donald R., 83
Isaac, 283
McCulloch, James, 28, 30
McDaniel, James, 50, 287
John, 50
McDaniel, Md., 41
MacDonald, John, 49
William, & Son, 282
McDowell Hall, Annapolis, 238
McFadon, John, 276
McGregor, Anna Key, 176
Gregor, 153
General Sir Gregor, 27, 38, 39
Mrs. Martha (Key), 176
Ridout Key, 176
McHenry, James, 2, 226-227, 233, 237, 314 ff., 324, 328, 329
Mackall, McGill, 268, 269
McKearin, Helen, *The Story of American Historical Flasks*, reviewed, 163
McKee, John, 276
McKeldin, Gov. Theodore Roosevelt, 261, 265
MacKenna, Vicuña, 32, 33, 38
McKim, Mr., 219
Isaac, 274, 276 ff.
John, Jr., 202
McLean, John, 24
McMahon, John V. L., 86
Sarah Hayes, Mrs. William, 86
William, 86
family, 86
McMurtry, William, 218
McPherson, Col. John, 292, 298
family, 291
Macaulay, Dr. Patrick, 67, 306, 307, 310, 313
Maclay, E. S., 276
The Mad Booths of Maryland, by [Stanley P.] Kimmel, 74
Madison, James, 21, 23, 24, 263
Magnus, Joseph Baird, 175
Magruder, Peter H., 186
Malmedy, Col. Francis, Marquis de, 124
Malone, Dumas, 338, 339
Manakee, Harold R., 335, 343
Manleus (ship), 278
Mann, George, 189
Marbury, Col. Luke, 138, 234, 235
Marcus Hook, Penna., 253
Maria (schooner), 275
Maria (ship), 276
Marine Bank, Baltimore, 282
Market House, Annapolis, 238
Market Street, Baltimore, 273
Market Street, Frederick, 291, 292, 295, 296, 299
Marmion (ship), 278, 279
Marqueste, Laurent Honoré, 84, 85
Marshall, Mrs., 212
John, 200
Marston, Dr. James G., 175
Martin, Capt. James, 283,284
Martin, George A., "Vital Records From The National Intelligencer," 68
Mary Ann (ship), 6
"Mary's Delight," Talbot County, 41-53
Marye, William B., 121
Maryland (battleship), 265, 270
Maryland (schooner), 274
Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State, 172, 173
Maryland Academy of Science, 268
Maryland Agricultural Society, 25, 150, 152

MARYLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY: *1953*, 54-69
Maryland *Censor* (newspaper), 37, 38, 143
Maryland College for Women, Lutherville, 67
Maryland Gazette (Annapolis), 8
Maryland Gazette (Baltimore newspaper), 115
Maryland Hall of Records Commission, 238
Maryland Historical Society, 259-270
Maryland Historical Society, War Records Division, 337
Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810, by Roger P. Bristol, *bibl.*, 64
Maryland Jockey Club, 185
Maryland Journal (Baltimore), 8
Maryland National Guard, 336
Maryland: The State and Its Government, by Harry Bard, 335
Maryland Today, by Harry Bard, *reviewed*, 335
Maslin, Ann (Myers), Mrs. William, III, 87
Martha (Glenn), Mrs. William, III, 87
William, III, 37
Mason, General, 39
Charles, 68
George Carrington, 70
Richard, 22
Massachusetts Spy (newspaper), 148
Massey, G. Valentine, 175
Masterson, James R., and Kane, Anne Marie, compilers, *Writings on American History, 1949*, reviewed, 163
Very Rev. M. J. Canon, 116 ff.
Matlack, Timothy, 135
Matthews, Dr. Thos., 351
William, & Co., 282
Mather, Cotton, 337, 338
Mathias, Charles McC., Jr., 292, 298
Mayer, Charles F., 221
Mechanics Bank, Baltimore, 272
Meigs, R., 24
Melton, Mrs. Julius W., 351
Melville, Annabelle M., *Archbishop John Carroll, Priest and Patriot*, bibl., 65
"Melwood," 136
Melwood Park, Prince George's County, 4
Mencken, H. L., 119, 120
"Menokin," Richmond Co., Va., 100
Merchants and Miners Line, 79
Meredith, J., 305, 307, 308, 311 ff.
Metropolitan Museum of New York, 195
Methodist Meeting House, Annapolis, 238
Michunk Creek, 316
Middleton, A. P., *Tobacco Coast, A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era*, bibl., 65; reviewed, 70-72
Robert, 68
Middleton's Hotel, Annapolis, 180, 191
Miles, Margaret, Mrs. Thomas, 45
Thomas, 45
"Miles End," Talbot County, 45, 49, 50, 52, 287
Miles River, 248
Milholland, Robert, 281
Miller, [John], *Memoirs*, 153
Miller, Richard, 275
Samuel, 69
W. J., 145
Milo (brig), 277, 278
Milton, George Fort, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column*, 246
Mina Expedition to Mexico, 40
Minerva (ship), 278
Mish, Mary Vernon, "Harper's Ferry as a National Monument," 67
Mitchel, Mr., 349, 350
Edward, 276
Mitchell, Lloyd E., Inc., 66
Mitchill, Samuel L., 146, 149
Mobjack Bay, 332
Mohawk (ship), 275
Molden, Elizabeth, 184
Molina, Abbé, *History of Chile*, 32
Molleson, James, 2
Monday Club, 199
THE MONDAY CLUB, by William D. Hoyt, Jr., 301-313
Monk's Corner, S. C., 325
Monocacy Bridge, 293
Monroe, James, 29 ff., 34, 35, 164-171
Montgomery, Charles F., 284
Montgomery County, 89-115
Montmorency, Marquis de, 140
Monthly Journal of Agriculture and Farmer's Library (periodical), 22
"Montevue," Frederick County, 102, 103
Moore, Dick, "Salisbury, Port of Call," 67
Moore, Col. Samuel, 209, 305, 307, 308, 311, 313
More, Elizabeth, 52
Morgan, Gen. Daniel, 321
Jarvis, 87
Jarvis, Jr., 87
family, 87

Morison, Samuel Eliot, *History as a Literary Art*, 82
Morris, Richard B., Greene, Evarts B., and, *A Guide To The Principal Sources For Early American History (1600-1800) In The City Of New York*, reviewed, 246-247
Robert, 329, 331
Morrison, Hugh, 100
Morristown, N. J., 6
Moses, Montrose J., 339
"Mount Airy," Prince George's Co., 352
"Mount Airy," Richmond Co., Va., 180, 182
"Mount Clare," 92, 99, 100
Mount Vernon, 99, 158, 185, 190, 192, 327, 338, 339
Mount Vernon: the Story of a Shrine, by Gerald W. Johnson and Charles C. Wall, *reviewed*, 83
Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore, 85, 303, 305
Mowbray, Mrs. Eleanor Kemp, 289
Moylan, Stephen, 14, 321, 326
Moyne, Ernest J., "Did Edgar Allan Poe Lecture at Newark Academy," 67
"Mr. Johns Hopkins and Dr. [Patrick] Macaulay's 'Medical Improvement,'" by John C. French, 67
Mudd, Thomas, 351
Mulkearn, Lois, and Pugh, Edwin V., *A Traveler's Guide to Historic Western Pennsylvania*, reviewed, 341-342
Mullahon, Mr., 325
Mullican, Basil, 276
Murdock, Rev. George, 108, 109
Murray, Dr. James, 192
Matthew, 28
"A Museum By Chance: The Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis," by Mrs. Miles White, Jr., 66
My Maryland, by A. Aubrey Bodine, 332
Myrton (schooner), 277

"Nancy Bywell" (horse), 186
Nash, Ogden, 67
Nathan, Adele Gutman, 65
National Academy of Design, 75
National Intelligencer (newspaper), 29, 145
National Road, 341
National War College, 265
Needles, John, 239
John M., 284
"Needwood," Frederick County, 1, 3, 140
The Negro in the Civil War, by Benjamin Quarles, *reviewed*, 78
Neighbors, Henry, 276
Nelson, John L., 351
Gov. Thomas, Jr., 327
Nesco, Inc., 66
"New B. & O. Transportation Museum Dedicated July 2nd," 67
"New B. & O. Transportation Museum Opened," 66
"New Connaught Manor," 347
New England Farmer (newspaper), 151
New London, Conn., 347, 348
New Market, Frederick Co., 352
THE NEW WORLD MEDITERRANEAN, by Neil H. Swanson, 54-63
New-York Historical Society, 75-76, 246
New York Public Library, 246
Newark Academy, 67
Newcastle, Delaware, 168
Newell, Mr., 220
Newport, Del., 347
Newport, R. I., 139 ff., 235
Newton (brig), 275
Niagara Falls, 197
Nicholas, John Spear, 306, 308, 309, 311, 313
Spear, 209
Nichols, Roy F., 151
Niles, Hezekiah, 154
Nimble (ship), 276, 277
Noke, William, 182, 184 ff., 190, 195
Nonsuch (schooner), 274
Norfolk Naval Shipyard, Portsmouth, Va., 73
Norfolk Naval Base, 332
Norris, Mr., 205, 206, 251
Walter B., 239
North America, by Anthony Trollope, 74
North Baltimore, Ohio, 121
North Market Street, Frederick, 295, 296
North Point, Battle of, 55, 263
Northampton Co., Va., 341
Northeast, 348, 349
Northeast River, Cecil Co., 348, 349
Northeast Street, Annapolis, 186
"Notes on the O'Neale and Ball Families of Maryland," 68
"Notes on the Origin of Launcelot Granger," by Peter G. Van de Poel, 66
Nottingham, 347 ff.
Nunnery of Visitation, Georgetown, 154
Nuttall, [Thomas], 147

Oakland, Md., 68
" Oakland's Hotels," 67
" The Oaths of Allegiance for St. Mary's County, Maryland," by Frank F. White, Jr., 68
Ober, Col. Beverly, 336
O'Connor, Andrew, 85
Octagonal Annex to State House, Annapolis, 238
Octararo, 349
O'Driscoll's Castle, 117, 119
Ogilvie, W. E., 21
Ogle, Benjamin, 186
Ogletown, Del., 347, 350
O'Higgins, [Bernardo], 32 ff., 36 ff.
Ohio (schooner), 274
" Old Bloomfield," 172
Old Blue Church, Annapolis, 238
Old Senate Chamber, Annapolis, 239
Old State House, Annapolis, 238
Oliver, Blanche Harrison, Mrs. Roger, 173
Robert, 201, 209
Roger, 173
Thomas, 201
" One of Garrett's First Schools," 68
110th Field Artillery, 336-337
O'Neale family, 68
" One of Garrett's [Co.] First Schools," 68
Ontario (U. S. ship), 279, 282
Ordnance Survey of Ireland, . . . , 118
" The Origin of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the District of Columbia," by Arthur S. Browne, 108
" Osler and Welch, Founders of Modern American Public Health," by Huntington Williams, 69
Owens, Hamilton, 279
Owens, Hamilton, *Baltimore on the*
Owings, Donnell, 49
Chesapeake, 334
Owings, Donnell M., *His Lordship's Patronage, Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland*, bibl., 65
Oxford, 286

Paca, William, 182, 190
" Pageant Opens B & O . . . Museum," 66
Paine, Elihu R., 48
Thomas, 157
Paine, Thomas, *Crises Extraordinary*, 134
The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, VIII, ed. by Julian P. Boyd, *reviewed*, 158-159
Parade Ground, Annapolis, 238
" Paradise," 2
Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson, by Jonathan Truman Dorris, *reviewed*, 161
Parker, Dudrea, Mrs. Sumner, 175
Paris, Frederick County, 291
Sumner, 175
Parkinson, Richard, 193
Parliamentary Gazeteer of Ireland, 118
Parrott, Richard, 49
" Patapsco," Baltimore, 92
Patapsco (schooner), 282
Patapsco River, 168, 232
Patrick, John, 87
Patrick Street, Frederick, 292, 294 ff.
Patterson, Joseph, 28
William, 233
Patterson Park, Baltimore, 263
Patuxent River, 129
" Paul Hamilton Hayne's 'Poe': A Note on a Poem," by Francis B. Dedmond, 68
Paul, J. Gilman D'Arcy, 99
Paulding, J. K., 340
Payson, Henry & Co., 285
Peabody, George, 202
PEABODY, HELEN LEE, editor, *Revolutionary Mail Bag: Governor Thomas Sim Lee's Correspondence, 1779-1782*, 1-20, 122-142, 223,-237, 314-331
Peabody, Helen Lee, Mrs. Robert S., 88, 176, 258, 352
Peabody Conservatory of Music, Baltimore, 303
Peabody Institute, 84, 202, 203, 301, 305
Peabody Library, 68, 85, 202, 203, 305
Peale, Anna Claypoole, 218
Peale, Charles Willson, betw. 188-189, 191, 214, 215, 219
Eliza, Mrs. Rubens, 215, 219 ff.
Franklin, 214, 216 ff.
James, 218
Rembrandt, 214, 215, 217, 220, 222
Rubens, 214-222
Sarah, 218, 220, 221
Titian, 218
Peale's Museum, 214, 221, 254, 258
Pendleton, S. C., Agricultural Society, 149
Pennington, Mr., 207
Josias, 304 ff., 309, 312, 313
Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 75
Pennsylvania Line, 230
Pennsylvania Purchase, Monument, 342
Pennsylvania Railroad, 240

The Perilous Fight, by Neil H. Swanson, 88, 261
Perkins, Dexter, 34
Perry, Oliver H., 280
W. S., 106
Perry (schooner), 281
Perryville, 348
Peter, Robert, 101, 102
Walter, 104
Peterson, Edgar, 176, 258, 351
Phi Beta Kappa Society, 197
Philbrick, Prof. Francis S., 341
Phillips, Wendell, 78
Phillips & Winslow, 282
Thomas, 21
Pickering, Timothy, 242
A Picture History of B. & O. Motive Power, by L. W. Sagle, *bibl.*, 65
Pike, Gen. Albert, 339
Pikesville, 203
Pikesville Armory, 336
Pilgrimage for the Restoration of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church of Croome, 1732-1953, bibl., 66
Pinkett, Harold T., 6, 21, 143
Pinkney, William, 28, 30, 146
Pioneer's Mission: The Story of Lyman Copeland Draper, by William B. Hesseltine, *reviewed*, 343-344
Piquet, Ma Motte, 325
Pitt, William, 278
" The Plains," 99
Plater, George, 135, 136, 192
" Pleasant Valley," 100
Pleasants, J. Hall, 76
The Plough, the Loom, and Anvil (periodical), 22, 152
Pocahontas (ship), 276
Poe, Edgar Allan, 67, 68, 340
Port Covington, Baltimore, 264
Pohl, Frederick J., 58
Poinsett, Joel R., 31, 33, 34, 38, 143
Poling, Anna, 175
Mart, 175
Rachel, 175
Richard, 175
Sarah, 175
Sophia Denith, Mrs. Richard, 175
William, 175
Politics in Maryland During the Civil War, by Charles B. Clark, *bibl.*, 64
Ponselle, Rosa, 68
Poolesville, 102
Poore, Ben P., 21, 23 ff.
The Port of Baltimore in the Making, 1828 to 1878, by T. Courtenay J. Whedbee, *bibl.*, 65
Port Tobacco, 350
Porter, David, 21, 26, 31, 33, 34, 38, 143, 145, 150, 153, 253
Porter's Ranges, 258
Porto Bello, 153
Portsmouth, Va., 242, 328
Post, Chander R., 84
Potomac River, 3, 76, 77, 130, 170, 255, 256, 349
Poultney, Rebecca Gordon, 196
Poulton, Ferdinand, 174
Powder House, Annapolis, 238
Pratt Street, Baltimore, 252
Pratt Street Bridge, Baltimore, 283
THE PRESIDENT VISITS MARYLAND, 1817, 164-171
Pressly, Thomas J., *Americans Interpret Their Civil War*, reviewed, 244
Preston, Francis, 200
Price, Rev. Mr., 50
Emma, 288
Richard, 158
William, 144, 145, 148
Prince George Street, Annapolis, 181, 185, 192, 238
Prince George's County, 3, 4
Prince George's Parish, 106, 108, 110
Prince George's Parish, Montgomery County, 257
Prince of Players, Edwin Booth, by Eleanor Ruggles, *bibl.*, 65; reviewed, 74-75
Princeton University, 102, 197
Principio Creek, 348
Principio Furnace, 346, 348
Principles of Medical Practice, by Robley Dunglison, 302
" Prospect Hill," Va., 199
Pueyrredón, Juan Martín de, 35, 36
Pugh, Edwin V., Mulkearn, Lois, and, *A Traveler's Guide to Historic Western Pennsylvania*, reviewed, 341-342
Purviance, Robert, 233
Pyle, Joseph, " Castle Haven," 67

Quaker City (ship), 79
Quarles, Benjamin, *The Negro in the Civil War*, reviewed, 78
Queen Anne's Parish, 157
Queens Creek, Va., 76
Queenstown, Battle of, 248
Quenzel, Carrol H., 77
Quynn, Allen, 178
Quynn, Dorothy Mackay, Mrs. William R., 352
Quynn, Dorothy Mackay, " Dangers of Subversion in American Education: A French View, 1801," 67

QUYNN, DOROTHY MACKAY, *Lafayette's Visit in Frederick, 1824*, 290-300

Radcliffe, George L., 67, 259-270
Radoff, Morris L., *Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis*, reviewed, 238-239
Rainsford, Rev. Giles, 106
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 90
Ramsey, Col. Nathaniel, 123, 124
Ranck, James B., 243
Randall, Alexander, 251-256
  Catherine G. (Wirt), Mrs. Alexander, 251
RANDALL, RICHARD H., editor, *Travel Extracts from the Journal of Alexander Randall, 1830-1831*, 251-256
  T. Henry, 183, 189
Randolph, John, 29
  John, of Roanoke, 250
Rappahannock River, 76, 196
"Ratcliffe Manor," 100
Rawdon, Lt. Col. Francis, 318, 325
Rawlings & Barnes, 185, 187, 195
Rayman, Sarah, 45
Read, William G., 306, 308 ff., 313
Readhefer, Charles, 215
Rebello, José Silvestre, 150
Redding, William, 37, 38
Redwood Street, Baltimore, 156
Reed, Clyde F., *Ferns and Fern-Allies of Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia*, bibl., 65
  Esther De Berdt, 127
  James, 277
  Joseph, 15, 127, 233
Regnault, Henri, 84
"Regulus" (horse), 186
Repository for the Old Records, Annapolis, 238
"[Reprint of] Samuel Miller's 'Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century' (1803)," ed. by L. H. Butterfield, 69
Revello Cup, 150
REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE, 1779-1782, edited by Helen Lee Peabody, 1-20, 122-142, 223-237, 314-331
Rhodes, James Ford, 244
Richmond, Christopher, 2, 124, 125, 130, 131
Richmond County, Va., 182
Richmond *Enquirer* (newspaper), 34
Richmond Market, 336
Ridgate, Thomas H., 325
Ridgely, Helen G., 113
Ridgley, Matthew, 233
Ridout, E. M., 21
  Elizabeth L., 239
  Hester Ann Chase, 195
  Rev. Samuel, M. D., 195
Rieusett, John, 90
Rightmyer, Nelson Waite, 106, 110, 113, 334
Rinehart, W. H., 84, 85
Ring[g]old, Gen. Samuel, 171
Rinn, River, Ireland, 116, 118
Rio Grande River, 243
Rise and Progress of Maryland Baptists, by Joseph T. Watts, *bibl.*, 65
Ritchie, Col. John, 293, 298
Roan, Will, 248
Rob of the Bowl, by John P. Kennedy, 303
Roberson, Gen., 133
"Robert Garrett Completes 40 Years' Service as B. & O. Director," 67
Robert M. LaFollette, by Belle Case LaFollette and Fola LaFollette, reviewed, 161-162
"Robert Middleton of Maryland, and Some of His Descendants," by John G. Herndon, 68
Roberts, Emerson B., 273, 288
Robeystown, Maryland, 175
Robinson, H. W., Cope, T. D., and, "Charles Mason, Jeremiah Dixon, and the Royal Society," 68
  Henry, 219
Robinson, Judith, *Ensign on a Hill*, reviewed, 344
  Ralph J., 242
Robinson, Ralph J., "Constellation Seems Doomed!" 66
Robinson, Ralph J., "The Glamorous Days of the Old Orioles," 66
Robinson, Ralph J., "Story of the Star Spangled Banner," 66
  William Davis, 150
Robson, Joseph, 274, 275, 287
  William, 46
Rochambeau, Count de, 10, 139 ff., 235
Rock Creek, 91, 93
Rock Creek Cemetery, 93
Rock Creek Parish, Historical Sketch of, 91
Rodgers, Commodore John, 154, 270
Rodney, Cesar, 35, 37, 81, 82
  Admiral Sir George, 20, 127, 329, 330
  Thomas, 81, 82
Rodick, Burleigh C., *American Constitutional Custom*, . . . , reviewed, 80
Roebuck, H. G. & Son, 335

Rolla (ship), 279
Roosevelt, Theodore, 162
Roper, Alice Morgan, Mrs. William, 87
William, 87
"Rosa Ponselle of Villa Pace," by Paul Hume, 68
Roseberry, Lord, 90
Ross, MARVIN C., *Two Monuments to . . Severn Teackle Wallis*, 84-85
Maj. Gen. Robert, 165, 169, 263
William, 296
Rossie (ship), 276, 278
Rousby, Col. John, 179
"Rousby Hall,' Calvert County, 130, 179
Roxbury, Alexander, 123
Royal Oak (ship), 142
Royal Society, 68
Rubicam, Milton, Krebs, Friedrich, and, *Emigrants from the Palatinate to the American Colonies in the 18th Century*, reviewed, 345
Rudolph, Capt. John, 137
Ruffin, Edmund, 21
Ruggles, Eleanor, *Prince of Players, Edwin Booth*, bibl., 65; reviewed, 74-75
Rule, Mr., 350
Rusk, W. S., 84
Russell, Elizabeth (Williamson), Mrs. William, 114
William, 114
"A Russian Traveler to Eighteenth Century America," by Eufrosina Dvoichenko-Markov, 66
Rustless Div. of Armco Steel, 66
Rutledge, Anna Wells, 75, 76
Rutter, Frank R., 151, 152
Ryal family, 257
Ryan, James S., 208
Mrs. James S., 203, 208
Ryerson, Knowles A., 144

Sagle, L. W., *A Picture History of B. & O. Motive Power*, bibl., 65
"Sail Ho!," by Robert H. Burgess, 67
St. Andrew's Parish, St. Mary's Co., 108
St. Andrew's Society, 199
St. Anne's, Annapolis, 90, 108, 231, 251
St. Barbara's Barn, 174
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, 128
St. Clements Island, 332
St. Georges Town, 253
St. John's College, 251, 313
St. Laurent, Count Jacques Melchoir Barras, 323
St. Lucia, 20
St. Luke's Church, 107
St. Luke's Parish, Queen Anne's County, Maryland, by [L. Harold Hinrichs], *bibl.*, 65
St. Maime, Col., 140 ff.
St. Mary's City, 171, 174
St. Mary's College, 309
"St. Mary's Freehold," 174
St. Mary's Square, Bayside, 49
St. Mel's College, 116
St. Michaels, Md., 52, 88, 272, 274, 278
St. Michael's Methodist Church, 49
St. Michaels River, 280
St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, 114, 205
St. Paul's Church, Rock Creek Parish, 93, 113
"St. Peter's Key," St. Mary's City, 171-174
St. Peter's Key Creek, 173
"St. Richard's Manor, 99
St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Croome, 66
St. Thomas Church, Garrison Forest, 109, 114
St. Victor, Capt., 141, 142
Salas, Eugenio Pereira, 37, 38
"Salisbury, Port of Call," by Dick Moore, 67
Samuel (brig), 274
San Martin, [Jose], 32 ff.
"Sandgates," 99
"Santee," 199
Sarah (sloop), 282
"Sarah's Neck," Talbot County, 44, 46, 47, 50
Saranac (schooner), 283
"Saras Creek," 99
Scarborough, Katherine, 51, 53, 54
Scarff, John H., 53, 200, 268
Scharf, John Thomas, 120, 290
Schiller, Mrs. Morgan B., 177
Schneidereith, Mr., 156
Schutz, John A., 82
Scisco, Louis Dow, 54
Scott, Mr., 178, 195
Miss, 206
James B., 28
Thomas F., betw. 100-101
Dr. Upton, 180, 182
"A Scouting Expedition Along Lake Panasoffkee," by Frank F. White, Jr., 67
Seabrook, Jesse, 351
Moses, 351
William, 351
William Johnston, 351
Wm. Luther Wesley, 351
family, 351
Seagull (sloop), 284, 285
Seamore, Mr., 218

Second Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, 66, 251
Segal, Harvey H., Goodrich, Carter, and, "Baltimore's Aid to Railroads," 68
Sellers, Charles C., 191
Semmes, Raphael, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors*, 164
Semmes, Raphael, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860*, bibl., 65; reviewed, 73-74
"Sesquicentennial Celebration of the Second Presbyterian Church," 66
Seth, James Montgomery, 52, 53
Joseph B., 52
Louisa Farland, Mrs. James M., 53
Mary, 52
Severn River, 186, 232, 258
Major Nicholas, 174
Seward, William W., 118
Sewell, Henry, 258
Mark, 286
Mary (Marriott), Mrs. Henry, 258
Samuel, 258
W. L., 258
Sewell's Fancy, 258
Sharpe, Dr., 108
Sharpe, Gov. Horatio, 42, 107 ff., 113
Shaw, John, 45, 239, 240
Shelby, Isaac, 128
Shelley, Fred, 345
"Sheraton-Belvedere Golden Anniversary," 67
Sherwood, Elizabeth J., and Hooper, Ida T., compilers, *Index, Volumes 1-6, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, reviewed, 247
Mary Impey (Kersey), Mrs. Thomas I., 48, 50
Thomas I., 48, 50
Shipkey, Miss, 218
Shippen, Rebecca Lloyd Post, 179, 191
Shores, Dennis, 45
Short, William, 158
Shriver, Judge, 293
Shryock, Richard H., *The Unique Influence of the Johns Hopkins University on American Medicine*, bibl., 65
Shryock, Richard H., Beall, Otho T., Jr., and, *Cotton Mather, First Significant Figure in American Medicine*, reviewed, 337-338
A Sidelight on History, . . . , 315
Sidewheeler Saga, A Chronicle of Steamboating, by Ralph N. Hill, reviewed, 78-79
"Sign of the Golden Fleece," Frederich, 292, 296, 298
Silver, Rollo G., "The Baltimore Book Trade, 1800-1825," 68
Silverman, Albert J. (ed.), *Baltimore City of Promise*, bibl., 65; reviewed, 334-335
Sim, Antony, 3
Joseph, 4-5
Simcoe, Gen., 316
Simkins, Francis B., *A History of the South*, reviewed, 77
Simkins, Francis B., *The South Old and New: 1820-1947*, 77
Sion College, London, 333
Sioussat, Annie Leakin, 120, 121
Sizer, Theodore, 75
Skinner, Elizabeth Glen (Davis), Mrs. John S., 23
F. G., 22, 25
John, 276
John Stuart, 21-40, 143-155, 263, 264, 304, 310, 311, 313
William, 286
Slater, Dr., School of, 284
Slye, Capt. Robert, 176
Susannah (Gerard), Mrs. Robert, 176
Small, Frank, Jr., 175
Smallwood, Gen. William, 4-5, 123, 127, 128, 134, 135
Smith, Mr., 129
Bradford, 340
Smith, Catherine B., "Terminous of the Cumberland Road on the Ohio," 69
Crawford, 270
Ellen Hart, 250, 340
Emily Chapman (Poultney), Mrs. Charles Randolph Wharton, 196
Dr. Gideon B., 143
Harry W., 21, 23
John, 132
Capt. John, 340
John Walter, 240
Joshua Hett, 134
R. G., 86, 258
Samuel, 165
Gen. Samuel, 263
Lt. Samuel, 249
Thomas, 47
William, 14
Smith & Buchanan, 278, 281
Smith & Ramsay, 282
Smith College, 75
Snow, Justinian, 258
"Snug Harbor," by Robert H. Burgess, 67
"The Society for the History of the

Germans in Maryland: A Chronicle," by Ernest J. Becker, 69
Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 333
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 333
Sollers, John Ford, 75
Somerset County, 121
"Sotterley," St. Mary's County, 135
The South Old and New: 1820-1947, by Francis B. Simkins, 77
The South in American Literature: 1607-1900, by Jay B. Hubbell, *reviewed*, 339-340
South Market Street, Frederick, 294
Southard, Samuel, 147
Southern Cultivator (periodical), 151
Southern Star (newspaper), 117
Soutter, Agnes Gordon (Knox), Mrs. James T., 206
Spalding, Thomas, 258
The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572, by Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, *reviewed*, 76-77
Sparks, David S., 88, 162
Jared, 2, 128
A Specimen Book of Type Styles, bibl., 66
Spencer, Eleanor P., 92
Spencer, Eleanor P., Howland, Richard H., and, *The Architecture of Baltimore*, bibl., 64
Parson, 287
Spencer (ship), 276
Spiller, Robert E., 257
Spirit (ship), 276
SPOILS, SOILS, AND SKINNER, by Harold A. Bierck, Jr., 21-40, 143-155
Spooner, Olive, 44
Stalker, Andrew, 6
Stanford, William J. (schooner), 72-73
Star-Spangled Banner, 259-270
"'Star-Spangled Banner' Text to Maryland Historical Society," 66
State House, Annapolis, 125, 239
State School for the Deaf, Frederick, 294
The Steam-Boat Comes to Norfolk Harbor, by John C. Emmerson, Jr., 242
Steel, John, 349
Steiner, Col., 294
Bernard C., 24, 333
Capt. Henry, 293
Stern, Emma G., *Watchtowers and Drums*, bibl., 65
Sterrett, Gen. Joseph, 168, 274, 275
Steuart, Richard S., 306, 308, 313
William Calvert, 79
Steubenville, [Ohio], 150
Stevens, [Edwin A.], 79
Gov. Samuel, 273
Thaddeus, 161
W. O., 193
Stevenson, Andrew, 199, 213
Steward, *see* Stewart
Stewart, James A., 52
Major John, 16
Watt, 35
Senator William M., 103
Stiles, Mayor George, 167
Stickney, John, 275
Stockdale, Amy (Allen), Mrs. Thomas, 87
Mary (Patrick), Mrs. Thomas, 87
Sarah (Field), Mrs. William, 87
Thomas, 87
William, 87
Stoddert, Benjamin, 112, 126
Stone, William, 341
"The Stones," Anne Arundel County, 184
The Story of American Historical Flasks, by Helen McKearin, *reviewed*, 163
"Story of the Star Spangled Banner," by Ralph J. Robinson, 66
Streett family, 351
Stricker, Gen. John, 165, 263, 276
Strong, Dr. John, 269
Stuart, Gen. James Ewell Brown, 62
"Student Wins History Award," 66
Styron, Arthur, 164
Sully, Thomas, 218
Summers, Festus P., *William L. Wilson and Tariff Reform*, reviewed, 79
Sumner, Gen. Jethro, 130
Sumpter, Gen. [Thomas], 129
Superb (ship), 276
Surprise (schooner), 281
Surratt, Mrs. Mary, 161
Surrattsville, Maryland, 175
Susan (brig), 210
Susana (ship), 278
Susquehanna Flats, 332
Susquehanna Lower Ferry, 348
Susquehanna River, 332, 348, 349
Sussex County, 81
Sutton, Mr., 131
Mrs., 131
Swallow Barn, by John P. Kennedy, 209, 303
Swan, Abraham, *British Architect*, 191
Swanson, Neil H., 88. 166
SWANSON, NEIL H., *The New World Mediterranean*, 54-64
Swanson, Neil, *The Perilous Fight*, 261

Swem, Dr. E. G., 77
Swem, E. G., *Virginia Historical Index*, 344
Swift, Gen. J. C., 165
Jonathan, 159

Tagart, John, 112, 114
Mary Lyon (Williamson), Mrs. John, 114
Samuel H., 114
Talbot County, 44
Talbott, Elizabeth Ewen, Mrs. Richard, 176
Richard, 176
Talbott's Tavern, Frederick, 291, 292, 298
Taney, Chief Justice Roger B., 200
Tappan, N. Y., 133
Tarleton, Sir Banastre, 129, 316, 328
Tayloe, Col. John, 180
Taylor, James, 277
John, 21
Lemuel, 281, 283
Rosser H., 151
Thomas, 28 ff.
Teares, Hugh, 68
Tebbel, John, *George Washington's America*, reviewed, 240-241
Temple, Col. Benjamin, 326
Tenant, Capt. Thomas, 147, 274, 276, 277
Tener, Betsey, 87
Catherine (Perton), Mrs. Jacob, 87
George, 87
Henry, 87
Henry Jackson, 87
Jacob, 87
Jonathan, 87
Salome, 87
Sarah (Thomas), Mrs. Henry Jackson, 87
"Terminous of the Cumberland Road on the Ohio," by Catherine B. Smith, 69
Ternant, Jean Baptist, 134
Terwilliger, W. Bird, 244
Third Brigade, Maryland Militia, 168
Thirty-ninth Regiment, 165
Thirty-third Regiment, 129
Thomas, Gov. Francis, 103
Thomas, James Walter, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, 173-174
Col. John, 102
Philip E., 255
Thomas Rodney: Revolutionary & Builder of the West, by William B. Hamilton, *reviewed*, 81-82
Roger, 249
Thomas and Joseph (schooner), 274
Thomas Bray, by H. F. Thompson, *reviewed*, 333-334
THOMAS KEMP, SHIPBUILDER, AND HIS HOME, WADES POINT, by M. Florence Bourne, 271-289
Thomas Wilson (ship), 282
Thompson, Dr. Absolom, 48, 50, 53
Absolom Christopher Columbus Americus Vespucius, 51, 52
Dr. Anthony C., 48, 50 ff.
Anthony C., Jr., 53
Charles J., 52
Edward D., 52
Eliza S., 52
Elizabeth L. (Kersey), Mrs. Absolom, 48, 50, 53
H. F., 106
Thompson, H. F., *Thomas Bray*, reviewed, 333-334
John K., 53
Martha Banning (Kersey), Mrs. Anthony C., 48, 50
Mary Ann, 52
Sarah A., Mrs. Absolom C. C., 52
Sarah Catherine, 52
Thomas J., 52
Thornton, Dr., 205, 206, 211
William, 39
"Through [By] the Dawn's Early Light," 67
Tickler (ship), 275
Tilden, Captain, 210
Tilghman, J. Donnell, 177, 190
Oswald, 49, 190, 193, 280
Tench, 52, 323
The Tilghman's Island Story, 1659-1954, by Raymond R. Sinclair, *reviewed*, 344
Tilghman, Md., 41
Tilly, J., 218
Tilton, Mrs., 194
Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era, by A. P. Middleton, *bibl.*, 65; *reviewed*, 70-72
Todd, Frederick, 295
"Tom Thumb," locomotive, 255
Topographia Hibernica, 118, 119
Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, 118, 119
Town Creek, 130
Townsend, Henry, 112
Jonathan, 275
Tracy, Don, *Crimson is the Eastern Shore*, bibl., 65
The Tragic Era, by Claude Bowers, 161

The Traitor and the Spy, by James Thomas Flexner, *reviewed*, 82
Travel Extracts from the Journal of Alexander Randall, 1830-1831, edited by Richard H. Randall, 251-256
A Treveler's Guide of Historic Western Pennsylvania, by Lois Mulkearn and Edwin V. Pugh, *reviewed*, 341-342
The Tribulations of a Museum Director in the 1820's by Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr., 214-222
Trollope, Anthony, 73-74
Troughton, Mistress Mary, 174
Troup, George M., 147
Tulip Hill, Anne Arundel County, 176
Tucker, George, 340
Tuesday Club of Annapolis, 302
Tully, Aquila, 294, 299
Tumulty, Joseph, 162
Turnbull, Lt. Col., 129
Turner, William Pinkston, 352
Twain, Mark, pseud., 79
Twenty-eighth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, [ed. by Dieter Cunz], *bibl.*, 65
29th Division, 336, 337
224th Field Artillery Battalion, 336
Two Monuments to Severn Teackle Wallis, by Marvin C. Ross, 84-85
Tyler, John, 200
Dr. William B., 298

Ulloa, Antonio, de, 151
Union (schooner), 275
Union Bank of Maryland, 198, 200 ff., 211
The Unique Influence of the Johns Hopkins University on American Medicine, by Richard H. Shryock, *bibl.*, 65
United States Bank of Pennsylvania, 202
United States Naval Academy, 265
University of Maryland Medical College, 205
University of North Carolina Press, 77
University of Virginia, 302
An Unpublished Letter of William Beckford of Herford, ed. by Thomas B. Brumbaugh, *reviewed*, 81-82
The Unveiling of the Original Manuscript of the Star-Spangled Banner, 259-270
Upper Marlboro, 263

Valck, Francis, 152, 153
Vallandingham, Clement L., 86
Sarah Louise (McMahon), Mrs. Clement L., 86
Valona (ship), 276
Van Bibber, Isaac, 194
Van Buren, Martin, 24, 212, 213
Vanderbilt, [Cornelius], 79
Van Doren, Carl, 131
Van der Poel, Peter G., 175
Van der Poel, Peter G., "Notes on the Origin of Launcelot Granger," 66
Vanaria, Louis M., 160, 339
Velázquez, Miguel Varas, 31, 32
Verplanck, Charlotte, "Houses and Gardens of the Victorian Era [in Md]," 68
Vevier, Charles, 80
"The Victoria," by Catherine Thom Bartlett, 67
Vigilante (ship), 274
Viomenil, Antoine Charles du Houx, Baron de, 10
Virginia Historical Index, by E. G. Swem, 344
Virginia Historical Society, 77
A Virginia and His Baltimore Diary, by Douglas Gordon, 196-213
"Vital Records from the National Intelligencer," by George A. Martin, 68
Vitruvius, Scoticus, by William Adams, 100
Von Steuben, Frederick William, Baron, 229, 231, 315
Voss, Benjamin Franklin, 206, 212
Robert S., 212
"The Voyage of the Ark and the Dove," 67

Wabash (ship), 278
Wade, Capt. William, 279, 281
Zachary, 280
"Wade's Point," Talbot County, 50
Wades Point Farm, Talbot County, 271-289
Wadsworth, James S., 197, 200
Walker, Mrs. Harold, 53
Wall, Charles C., 185
Wall, Charles C., Johnson, Gerald W., and, *Mount Vernon: the Story of a Shrine*, reviewed, 83
"Wall Street Journal Looks at Maryland," by Joseph W. Clautice, 66
Wallace, Charles, 184, 239
Wallace, Paul A. W., "The Five Nations of New York and Pennsylvania," 68
Wallance, Godfrey, pseud., 303
Waller, William, 185
Wallis, Severn Teackle, 84-85, 240

Waln, Sallie, 199, 211
Walsh, Thomas J., 162
Thomas Y., 210, 211
Walters, Bennett, 258
Henry, 84, 85
Walters Art Gallery, 85
Ward, Christopher, 123, 128
Warfel, Harry R., editor, *Letters of Noah Webster*, reviewed, 242-243
Warfield, Mr., 84
Warfield, Henry R., 293
Warner, Dorothy R., 271
Warren, M. E., betw. 188-189
Washington, George, 2, 6, 7, 11 ff., 18, 83, 125, 126, 129, 133, 136, 138, 139, 157-158, 185, 226, 228, 230, 234, 235, 238 ff., 297, 314, 315 ff., 326 ff., 332, 338-339
Washington, D. C., 86, 164, 171, 281, 298
Washington Monument, Baltimore, 85, 163, 168
Washington Square, Baltimore, 168
Wasp (schooner), 277
Wasp (ship), 278
Watchtowers and Drums, by Emma G. Stern, *bibl.*, 65
Waterman, T. T., 99, 100
Wathen, John, 176
Mary (Mullett), Mrs. John, 176
Watson, Mark S., 332
Paul C., 268, 269
Watts, Joseph T., *Rise and Progress of Maryland Baptists*, reviewed, 65
Waylen, Edward, 109
Wayne, Gen. Anthony, 230, 321
Webb, Edmund, 44, 45
Edmund, Jr., 45
Mary, 45
William, 45
"Webley," Kent County, 44
WEBLEY, OR MARY'S DELIGHT, BAY HUNDRED, TALBOT COUNTY, by Sara Seth Clark and Raymond B. Clark, Jr., 41-53
Webster, Daniel, 200, 242
Noah, 242-243
Weeks, Thelka F., "Law and Order," 68
Weis, F. L., 106
Welch, William H., 69
Well Do I Remember, by H. C. Hann, *bibl.*, 65
West Nottingham Academy, 349
West Nottingham Presbyterian Church, 347
West Point, N. Y., 132
West Virginia Place Names, by Hamill Kenny, 176
Westermeier, Therese S., "A Baltimore Pioneer in Proprietary Medicine,' 69
"Western Md.'s Shay No. 6 [old locomotive] Donated to B. & O. Museum," 66
Westmoreland County, Va., 3
"Weston," Dorchester Co., 122
"Westover," 99
Wharton, Mary Craig, 200
"What's Happened to Our Suburbs [Prince George's Co.]" by James C. Wilfong, Jr., 67
Whedbee, T. Courtenay J., *The Port of Baltimore in the Making, 1828 to 1878*, bibl., 65
Wheeler, Burton K., 162
Joseph T., 302
Richard S., 351
Whetstone Point, Baltimore, 168, 263
Whitaker, Arthur P., 34, 39, 150
White, Abner, 349
Frank F., Jr., 246
White, Frank F., Jr., "The Oaths of Allegiance for St. Mary's County, Maryland," 68
White, Frank F., Jr., "A Scouting Expedition Along Lake Panasoffkee," 67
John, 349
Joseph M., 146
Lucius, 268
White, Mrs. Miles, Jr., "A Museum By Chance: The Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis," 66
"Whitehall," Anne Arundel County, 42
Whitfield, Theodore M., 161
Whyte, Margery, 22
Wiesenthal, Charles Frederick, 69
Wilfong, James C., Jr., "What's Happened to Our Suburbs [Prince George's Co.]," 67
Wilgus, A. C., 151
Wilkinson, Rev. Christopher, 106
William L. Wilson and Tariff Reform, by Festus P. Summers, *reviewed*, 79
William Penn (ship), 253
Williams, Col. Elie, 169, 171
George, 285
Williams, Harold A., *Baltimore Afire*, reviewed, 156
Harris H., 301
[Williams, Huntington, (comp.)] *The First Thirty-Five Annual Reports [of] the Baltimore City Health Department*, bibl., 65
Williams, Huntington, "Osler and

Welch, Founders of Modern American Public Health," 69
James, 278
Natl., 305, 307, 308, 311, 313
Col. Otho, 129, 169
Williams, Roger B., *The Wranglers, A Brief History of a Baltimore Law Club*, bibl., 66
T. J. C., 290, 297
Toby, 276
William E., 143
Williamsburg, 142, 316
Williamson, Rev. Alexander, 89-115
Elizabeth (Boyce), Mrs. James, 106
Elizabeth (Lyon), Mrs. Alexander, 91, 109
George, 212
Rev. James, 106
Mary Lyon, 109, 110, 112
Willis, Jack, 66
Joshua, 278
Wilmington, Delaware, 253, 346
Wilson, Henry, 276
William L., 79
Woodrow, 68, 162
Wilson-Gorman Tariff, 79, 239
Winchester, Va., 232
Winder, Major Levin, 123
Gen. William H., 28, 36, 165
Winslow, Samuel, 44
Winter, "Weeping Willie," 74
Wintherthur, Henry Francis duPont, Museum, 88
Wirt, William, 29, 251
Winthrop, John, 346
Wistar, Caspar, 200, 207, 208
Whittman, Md., 41, 52
Wolcott, Oliver, 242
"Wolf's Harbour," Talbot County, 52, 287
Wollaston, John, betwn. 131-132
"Woodlawn," 99
Woodmason, Charles, 350
Woodmason, Charles, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*, reviewed, 159-160
Woodstock College, 77
Woolford, Levin W., 240
Worth, Anthony, 248
Worthington, Gen. Thomas C., 297
G. D., 37
The Wranglers, A Brief History of a Baltimore Law Club, by Roger B. Williams, *bibl.*, 66
Wright, Robert, 193
Wrightson, Francis, 287
William, 287
The Writing of American History, by Michael Kraus, *reviewed*, 81
Writings on American History, 1949, comp. by James R. Masterson and Anne Marie Kane, *reviewed*, 163
Wroth, Lawrence, C., 257
"Wye," Talbot County, 178, 180, 186, 190, 191, 193, 194
Wyeth, Louise (Kemp), Mrs. N. J., 289
Wyman, Samuel, 201

Yadkin River, 130
"The Yale Lockes," by James H. Bready, 67
Yale University, 197, 256, 257
Yardley, Herbert, 333
Yates, Robert, 91
"York" (locomotive), 255
York County Academy, 342
York River, 76, 323, 324
Yorktown, Va., 2, 4, 10, 129, 138 ff., 226, 298, 314, 323, 326 ff., 332
Youatt, William, *The Horse*, 22
Young, Henry J., 342
Mrs. Henry S., 346
John S., 275

Zion Lutheran Church, Baltimore, 273, 274, 279
Zion Church, Talbot County, 271

9873